UNITED NATIONS WORLD

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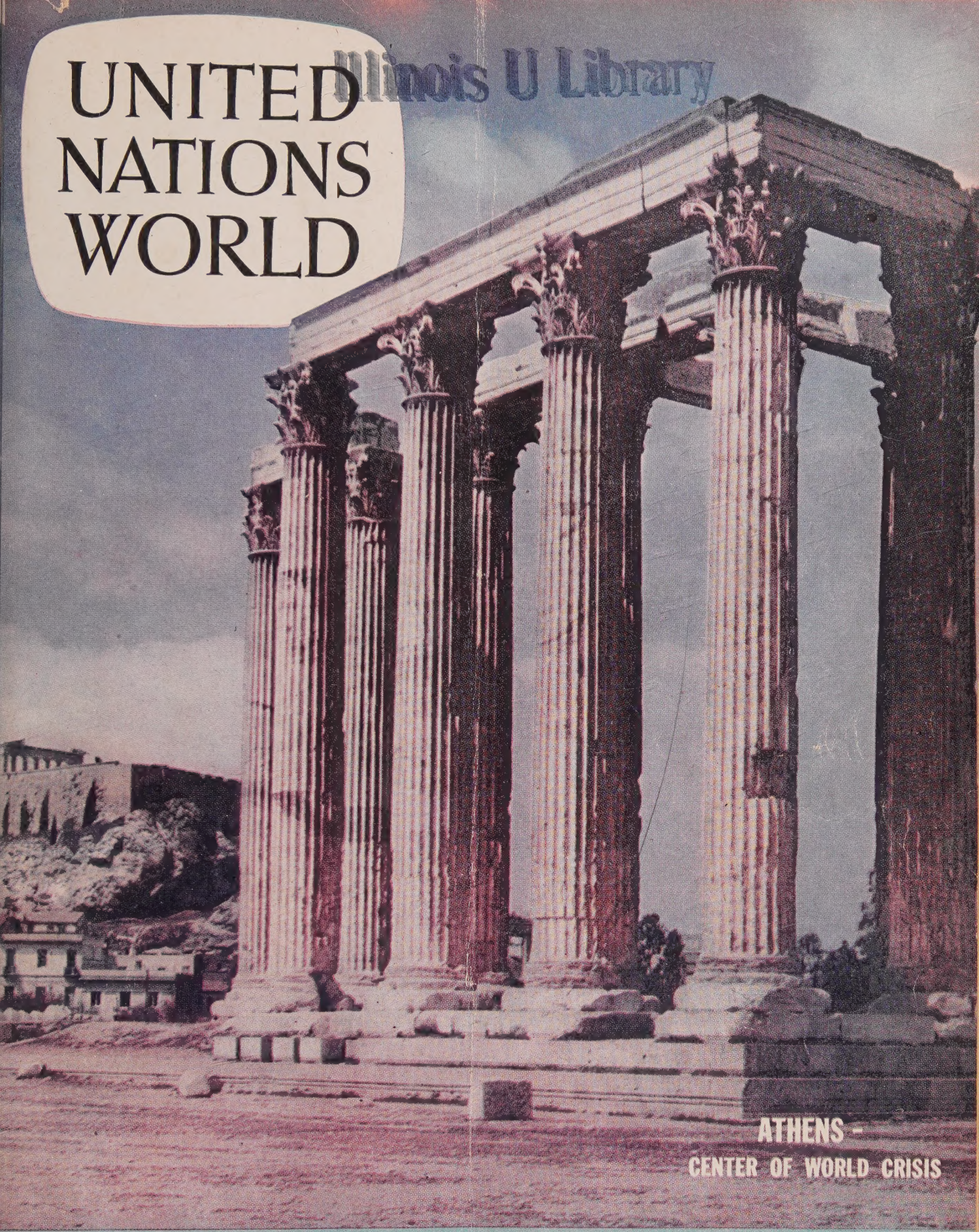
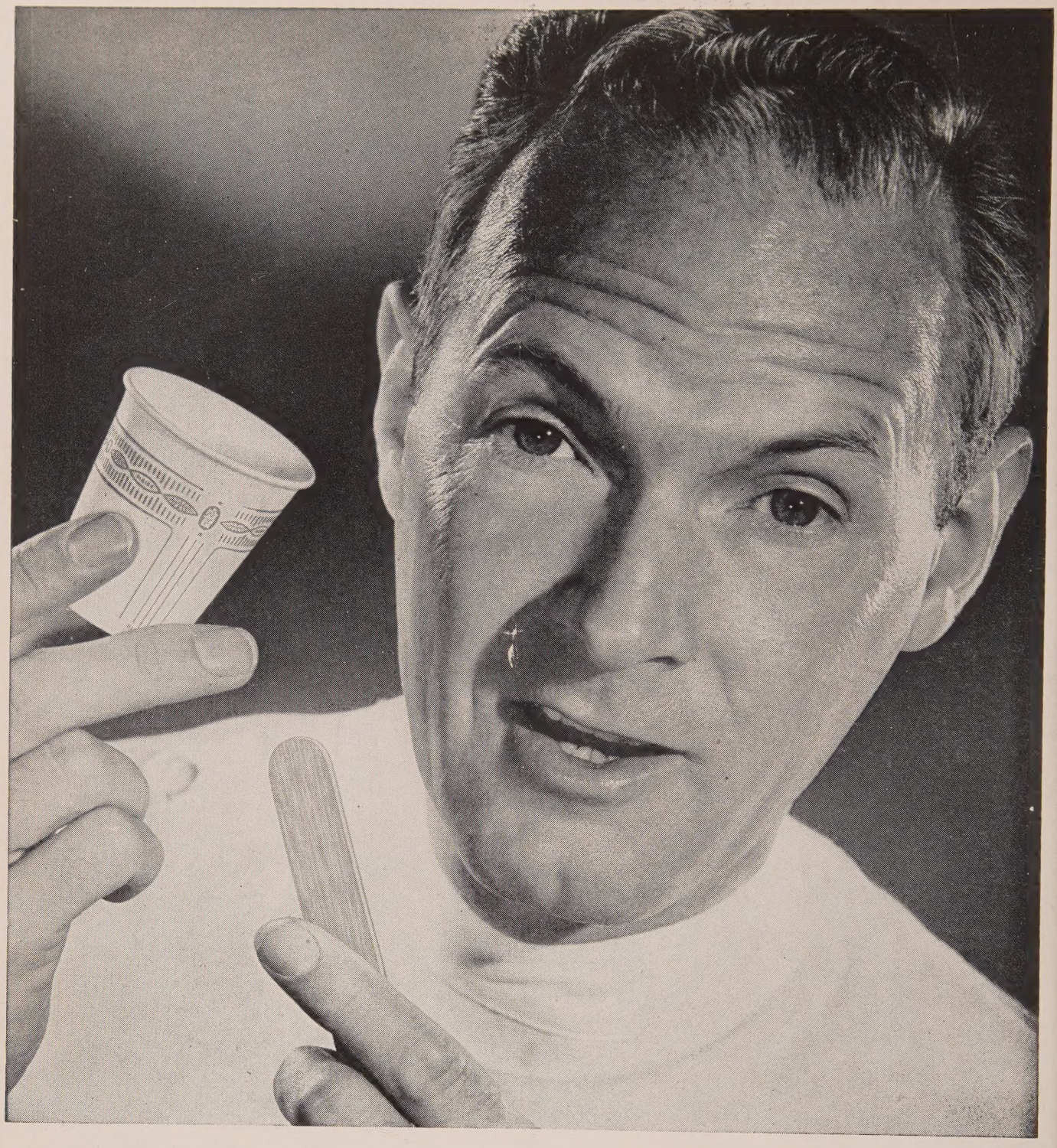


ATHENS –
CENTER OF WORLD CRISIS

Admiral Zacharias Draws U. S.-Russian Balance Sheet
preme Court Justice Douglas on World's Most Important
Single Job... An Essay on America by Pearl S. Buck

35c
APRIL
1947



"greatest little 'cold-stoppers' in the world... DIXIE CUPS"

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Illinois U Library

I don't ask the public to regard the United Nations with lyrical enthusiasm, yet I want people to realize there is no alternative.

PAUL-HENRI SPAAK,
President of the General Assembly of UN
Prime Minister of Belgium

Congratulations!

I was delighted to have your March issue of United Nations World. In your effort to provide a non-partisan world view of news as it affects all nations, you can unquestionably contribute heavily toward a sound and intelligent understanding of the important mission of the United Nations.

OMAR N. BRADLEY
General, U. S. Army,
Veterans Administrator

I would like to say a word of appreciation on the delightful get-up of your magazine . . . with all good wishes.

WALTER NASH
New Zealand Delegate to the Economic and Social Council of UN

I have read this issue with the greatest interest and I can assure you that, as a regular subscriber, I will continue to do so.

A. PELT
Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations Conference and General Services

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The first two issues of United Nations World magazine are first-rate. They are interesting, well written and deal with important subjects. On an intelligent and informed basis, the UNW will, if it continues to do as well as it has in the first two issues, make a distinct contribution to securing the peace.

OSCAR COX
former Deputy Administrator
Foreign Economic Administration

. . . I would like to extend to you my best wishes of success.

RAS H. S. IMRU
Minister from Ethiopia

Clock and Dagger Mystery

(Solving time: 2 minutes)

It doesn't take long to track down the culprit here!

The desk is littered with clues. Unanswered letters, memos. Pages of shorthand that represent hours of dictation—that mean more hours of decoding.

Person-to-person dictation is to blame, as usual. An outdated method that keeps two people busy doing what should be a one-man operation.

It slows down office routine—making for long hours and short tempers.

What this office needs is modern, speedy Electronic Dictation!

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The Dictaphone method lets a man relax.

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DICTAPHONE *Electronic Dictation*

**The word DICTAPHONE is the registered trade-mark of Dictaphone Corporation, makers of Electronic and Acoustic dictating machines and other sound-recording and reproducing equipment bearing said trade-mark.*

I follow with interest the information of this new magazine, which I believe is exercising a valuable function. The United Nations were in need of a publicity organ, independent and non-official, that would take interest in the international problems confronting the UN, and that would also make criticism with entire freedom, whenever necessary.

JOSÉ A. MORA
Minister from Uruguay

I have read with much pleasure the March issue of United Nations World . . . and was extremely interested in the articles.

PIERRE MENDES-FRANCE
French Delegate to the Economic and Social Council of UN

I am sure that your magazine will play a very useful role in the popularization of the United Nations and will promote international cooperation in general.

DR. IVAN KERNO
Assistant Secretary General of UN Legal Department

I think this publication is very much to your credit, and you may well be proud of it. I wish you success in your undertaking.

ARTHUR CAPPER
United States Senator

I think that one can wish nothing better for this new child than hope that it will grow up to be not merely an important monthly magazine, dealing with international matters, but a magazine which is internationally read and this way will become one of the small but important ties which . . . are increasingly knitting the world together.

HENRIK KAUFFMANN
Danish Ambassador to the U. S.

May I congratulate you on the excellent idea of publishing a magazine that will serve to inform the public on the diverse problems confronting each of the member nations of the Organization and that will help to develop an active and enthusiastic cooperation in the high purposes of the United Nations . . . Good wishes for the success of your project.

GUILLERMO SEVILLA SACASA
Ambassador of Nicaragua

LIFE IN OUR WORLD

AN AMAZING COLLECTION OF ODDS AND ENDS HAVING TO DO WITH THE LIFE AND TIMES OF HUMANITY IN THE ATOMIC AGE

As of February 28, 1947, there were 2,863 members on the United Nations staff, of which 1,596, or 55.75 per cent, were U. S. citizens. This preponderance of Americans on the Secretariat has led to some serious, even though unspoken, friction. Representatives of the various nations feel

—rightly or wrongly—that the influence of the U. S. is already so overwhelming in many fields that a sizable reduction would be most helpful psychologically. In general the picture of personnel representation *vis-à-vis* budgetary contributions looks like this:

Country	Personnel	% of Whole	% of Budgetary Contribution
U. S.	1,596	55.8	39.9
France	311	10.9	6.0
Britain	253	8.8	6.3
Canada	142	5.1	3.2
China	91	3.2	6.0
B lgium	55	1.9	1.4
Netherlands ..	29	1.0	1.4
Norway	28	1.0	0.5
U.S.S.R.	27	0.9	6.3

It must be remembered, however, that a large proportion of the U. S. personnel consists of clerical and maintenance help. A similar situation applies to France, which has a great number of translators and interpreters at UN but holds very few substantive positions.

Secretariat's 52 Nationalities

Altogether, there are 52 nationalities and 25 stateless people. Those United Nations which have no members at all on the staff are Afghanistan, Byelorussia, Ethiopia, Honduras, Guatemala, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Siam and Turkey. Austria and the former Axis satellites, Bulgaria and Hungary are each represented by one member, or 0.035 per cent of the total. Of course, the citizens of these countries are anti-fascists. Switzerland, which was neutral during the war and has shown no inclination to join the UN, has 15 citizens at UN, or 0.5 per cent of the total.

UN's Salary Brackets

The Secretariat staff is divided into six categories: the first comprises those who receive salaries of $10,000 up to $20,000 (the Secretary-General's $20,000 is supplemented by an equal amount for expenses); the second, salaries of $8,200 to $10,900; third, $5,900 to $8,700; fourth, $3,770 to $6,600; fifth, $2,160 to $4,210; and sixth, $1,380 to $2,410, all free of tax. A per diem allowance was also established, but this was cut down March 15, provoking serious protests by the staff. In the first and highest category the United States has 10 officials, followed by the U. K. with eight and France with six. Norway, Canada and China each have three, Australia and Yugoslavia two. The U. S. S. R., along with 10 of the smaller countries, has only one.

A Worried Staff at Lake Success

One year after the establishment of the Secretariat, the atmosphere among the staff at Lake Success is gloomy. Financial difficulties, serious housing problems, rising living costs and, above all, the fact that only a small percentage of the staff have permanent contracts, have all tended to create uncertainty. On top of that, during the last few weeks, Secretariat personnel—even more than ordinary citizens of the United Nations who are not professionally interested—have become worried about the future of the new international organization. They feel that unless there is a serious turning back to the UN by the major powers, the morale of the organization will be badly affected, and it will be increasingly difficult to get new recruits

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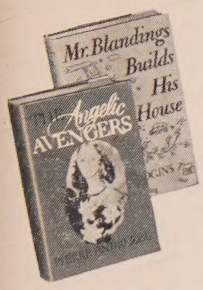

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Mr. Hodgins' rib-tickling new book tells of a New York couple who built a country home . . . *The Angelic Avengers* is a beautifully written story of mystery, adventure, and young love.

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THE EGG AND I
By Betty MacDonald
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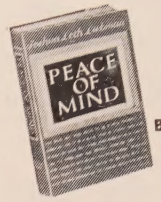
An exuberant personal history about the problems two young people encounter when they undertake to operate a chicken farm. *The Egg and I* is the hilarious story of their fate, told with humor and much charm. Over a million copies already sold.

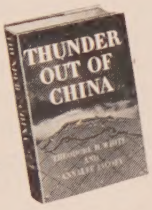


PEACE OF MIND
By Joshua Loth Liebman
$2.50

The book that has headed the non-fiction best-seller list for many weeks. It discusses simply and wisely what ordinary individuals can do to bring perspective and stability into their own lives, instead of confusion and frustration.

ALL THE KING'S MEN
By Robert Penn Warren
$3.00

This novel of a poor-white who rose to political power and virtual dictatorship in a Southern state has been praised by practically all critics. *The Book-of-the-Month Club News* called it "the most remarkable novel to come out of the South this year."



THUNDER OUT OF CHINA
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Annalee Jacoby
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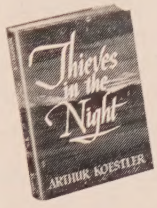
The chief of *Time* and *Life* service in China during the war years, and his assistant, give the key to the great Chinese puzzle. A book of profound significance, since it is in China that the United States and Russia face each other most directly.



THIEVES IN THE NIGHT
By Arthur Koestler
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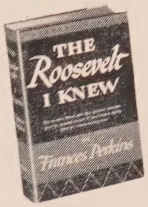
In this best-selling new novel, the author of *Darkness at Noon* goes behind the headlines to tell the extraordinary and powerful story of conflict in Palestine today. "An impressive and significant performance," says Richard Watts.



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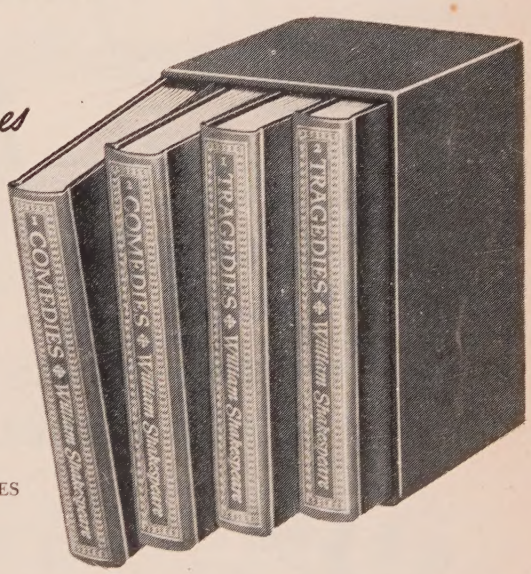
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among highly qualified people from the various countries.

French Economics

THE other day, a high official of France came to our office and gave us a rather hopeful picture of France's economic future. There are only two main obstacles, he said, on the road to complete recovery. One is the required 2,000,000 tons of coal per month. Half of this is coming from the U. S., meaning that the other half must come from the Ruhr. The other problem is that of financial stability, which will depend at first upon the speed with which the loan of $500,000,000 from the World Bank (see page 20) is obtained. Still another $2,000,000,000 will be needed to produce a really vast improvement.

Gallic Humor

AT ONE point we asked our visitor how he would compare the French situation with the British. He answered with a grin: "France is recovering in the midst of complete chaos; England is going down in the most perfect order."

"What about the international crisis?" we continued. With the same grin on his face, he said: "France is no longer interested in any international crisis. The only alternative she has in case of conflict is to be either a bridgehead or a point of departure."

"Royalty" in Moscow

AN UNUSUAL group of "royalty" arrived in Moscow recently—three Italian queen bees, each with an escort of workers. They were consigned by air from the Hawkesbury Agricultural College, New South Wales, to Moscow's Australian Legation. Returning the compliment, the Legation is sending back to Australia a consignment of gray Caucasian bees from the Soviet Institute of Bee Culture.

Moscow's 800th Birthday

WHEN Moscow celebrates its 800th birthday this year, the Soviet Academy of Architecture will stage a great jubilee exhibit showing, with a wealth of detail, the changes in the architectural life of the city through the centuries.

Penalties for Church Absentees?

AN UNUSUAL religious proposal—penalties for non-churchgoers—has been proposed by a Church of England committee appointed in Brisbane, Australia, to study ways and means of combatting "laxity" among church members. Now under study by C. of E. authorities, the plan recommends that only church members who attend services regularly be permitted to have church marriages and that members who fail to attend also be deprived of church baptisms and funerals.

Votes for Women in Liberia

FOR the first time in the Republic's 100-year-old history, women will vote in Liberia's elections next May. They are already busy forming political clubs.

Legs and Steering Wheels

FOR locomotion, the East still relies on its feet and legs while the West squats behind a steering wheel. That is strikingly illustrated by the teeming traffic of Calcutta's Howrah Bridge —world's largest cantilever span, opened in 1943. Of 27,000 vehicles crossing the bridge daily, almost 10,000—bicycles, rickshas and handcarts —are propelled by Indian leg-power. In addition, 100,000 Indians go over afoot. Comparative note: Number of man-pushed vehicles crossing the cantilever Queensborough Bridge, New York, daily: practically none; pedestrians, 610.

America's First Feminist

WHILE engaged in research in the protocol Archives in Mexico City, Enrique A. Cervantes made a discovery which provided Mexico with a literary sensation. He discovered the will of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, as well as eleven other documents that shed light on her life. Sor Juana, sometimes called the first feminist in America, lived in the 16th century, and was one of the greatest poets and personalities produced in the early days of the New World.

Smoke Gets in Your Eyes

DURING 1946, more than 351 billion American cigarettes went to market—an all-time high. Allowing for 30 billion exported, that meant an average consumption of 2,293 cigarettes, or two packs a week, for every American, including grandmamas and infants. During the wartime shortage things were tougher—Americans had to get along with as little as 267 billion butts in a single year.

Penicillin for China

CHINA'S first penicillin plant was opened recently in the compound of the famous Temple of Heaven in Peiping. The plant can produce 100 vials, each containing 200,000 units, daily. The equipment is a gift of the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China and the plant is in charge of Dr. Tung Tsun who studied at the U.S. Department of Agriculture's laboratory in Peoria, Ill. This is the first time that penicillin has been produced on an organized basis in China. During the war the drug was flown in under Lend-Lease by refrigerator planes.

Linking the Arab Lands

LARGE-SCALE plans are under way to link up the Arab countries by rail. As a first step, ownership of the Hejaz Railway, between Damascas and Medina, is to be legalized as a general Moslem *Waqf* (property in trust) and administered by a joint body representing Syria, Transjordan and Saudi Arabia. It is planned to extend the railway south to San'a, capital of Yemen.

A Man of Influence

WHEN a contribution of 22 huge bags of carefully tested and selected varieties of grain arrived recently in Yenan, Communist area headquarters, through the China Aid Council, the Kwang Hwa experimental farm hastened to convey its thanks. The sender commented: "They certainly have the wrong idea about me. They take me for a bearded professor and a man of influence." Instead he was O. Schirovsky, 29-year-old Californian house painter, Russian by ancestry, Manchurian by birth, American by education, worldwide in his sympathies and studious by inclination. Schirovsky studies agriculture nights at the University of California. His hobbies are weather and soil conditions in China.

Indonesian Olympians

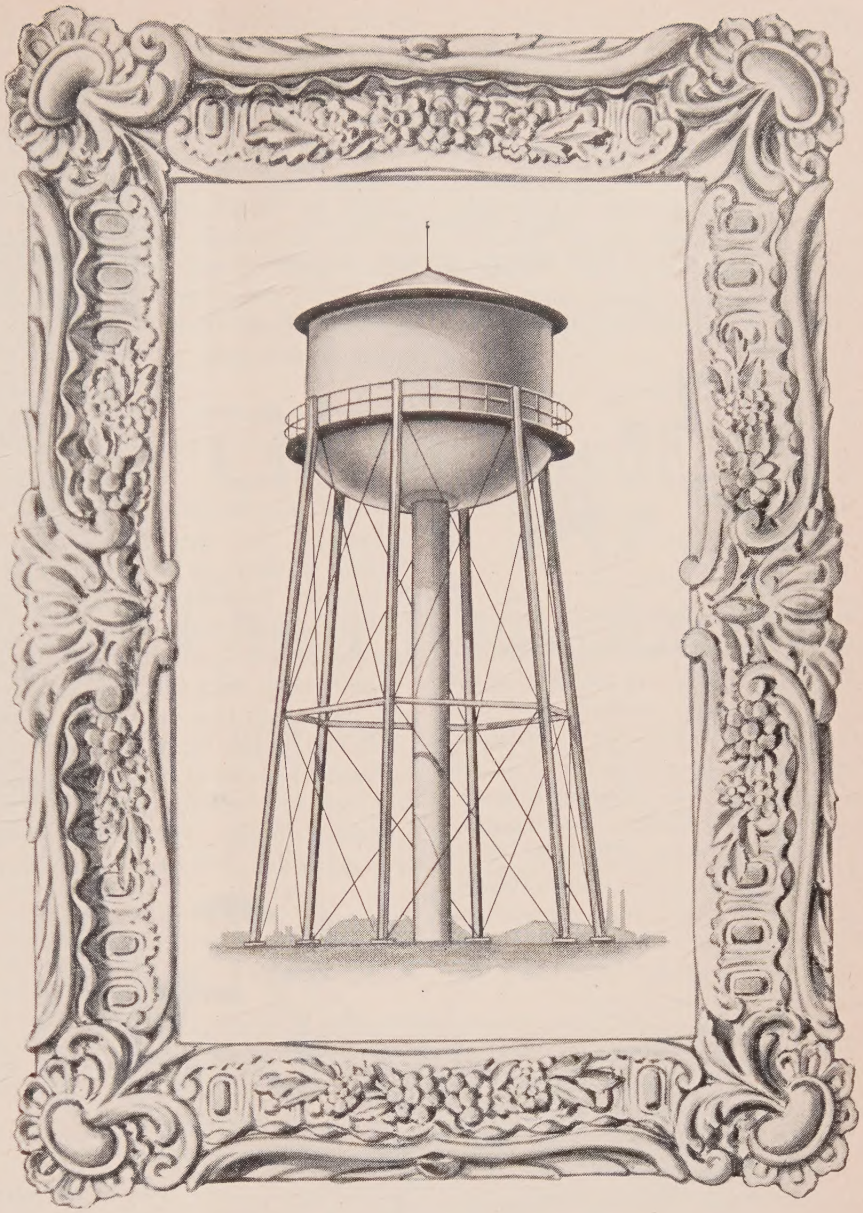
INDONESIAN athletes will carry the flag of their new Republic among banners fluttering in the parade that will open the first postwar Olympic games in London next year. The design of the flag, a horizontal red stripe above a white one, dates back to about 700 A.D.

Boom in Russian

SINCE 1942, the number of U. S. colleges and universities teaching courses in the Russian language has increased 500 per cent.

A Surprise from the Caspian

NOT far from Baku, receding waters of the Caspian Sea recently exposed an island bearing the ruins of a 700-year-old fortress. Using this as a yardstick, Soviet oceanologists have charted the changing water level of the Caspian, world's largest inland lake, through many centuries.



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Water can become obsolete, too.

In industry, new materials and methods are constantly posing new processing problems. The water that was good even by last year's manufacturing standards may not be right at all for your needs today.

To bring process water up-to-date, progressive industrialists rely on Permutit* Water Conditioning. Water can be "tailor-made" by Permutit to meet *any* requirements, regardless of local water conditions.

You'll be surprised how this made-to-order water can speed production and cut operating costs in the industrial plant. And what a difference it makes in the home.

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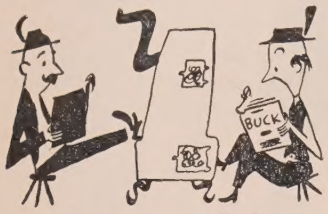
Czechoslovakia's Choice

AMONG Czechoslovakia's most popular foreign authors are Pearl S. Buck and Louis Bromfield. Despite the fact that books cost three times more than they did before the war, Czechoslovak reading interests are broader than ever. In the period Jan.-Oct. 1946 the tally of books translated stood as follows: British and American, 182; Russian, 173, French, 89.



A Bonanza for Michoacán

RESIDENTS of Michoacán, Mexico, are still wide-eyed and delighted at the amount of money a Hollywood film company spent while out on location. Filming outdoor scenes for "Captain from Castile," a novel set in 16th-century Spain and Mexico, the company in six weeks spent 2,000,000 pesos ($160,000) in hotels, transportation, extras, etc. Another angle pleased the Michoacán people: filmed in technicolor, their beautiful little town will be seen all over the world.

Philatelic Front

THE idea of featuring national products on stamps as a booster to trade or travel interest has caught on widely in Latin America. Here's the latest roster of nations and their stamp ornaments: Costa Rica—mangoes, orchids, bananas, cacao trees; Colombia—coffee bushes, bags of coffee, bananas; Mexico—bananas; Cuba—tobacco, also sugar cane in the field and under harvest and manufacture; Panama—sugar à la Cuba; Guatemala—orchids.

Women at Arms

ACCORDING to the Indonesian Republic News Agency *Antara,* the Republican government has opened a school at Modjokerto, Java, where Indonesian women will be given two months' military training.

Soviet Superships?

CONSTRUCTION of several huge passenger motorships of striking performance has been commissioned by the Soviet Ministry of the Merchant Marine. Plans call for ships of from 35,000 to 55,000 tons displacement, carrying more than 4,500 passengers, with a speed of more than 50 kilometers (31.01 miles) an hour. They will be built at two new shipyards now under construction.

Queue for Kew

COME down to Kew in lilac time, in lilac time . . . " With this line, Alfred Noyes, British poet, voiced his enthusiasm for the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, on the Thames west of London. Britons share his fervor, and this month Gardens officials expect the peak crop of visitors for 1947—April 1946 attracted 390,000 visitors, top month in a year that brought 1,500,000. Besides lilacs, Kew produces such useful plants as belladonna, digitalis, meadow saffron and other drug-producing herbs. The Gardens are open every day. Admission, one penny.

Help for British Africa

THE British have a plan for reclaiming one of the worst patches of Africa—3,250,000 acres of arid fly-ridden wasteland in Kenya, Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia. At a cost of $102,000,000 the scheme aims to turn the area into fertile food-producing land. The British calculate that their investment will be repaid by production of 600,000 tons of badly-needed vegetable oil seeds, while at the same time living standards will be improved throughout the area.

Chopin's Centenary

AN INTERNATIONAL Chopin Festival, marking the 100th anniversary of the composer's death, is being planned for 1949 by the Frederic Chopin Institute. The events include an exhibit in Warsaw of his compositions and personal belongings. Chopin's house at Zelazowa Wola will be restored to the way it looked when he was alive and an international Chopin music contest will be held, with artists from all over the world participating.

GI Hospital Rush

NOTES on Veterans: A large number of GI's—averaging 65,000 men and women a month—are applying for admission or treatment at the 120 hospitals and 12 homes for the disabled operated in the U.S. by the Veterans Administration. The average G.I. stay in the VA's general hospitals is 22 days. . . . More than 40,000 ex-GI's are running their own businesses with the aid of veterans' loans.

A Senora for President

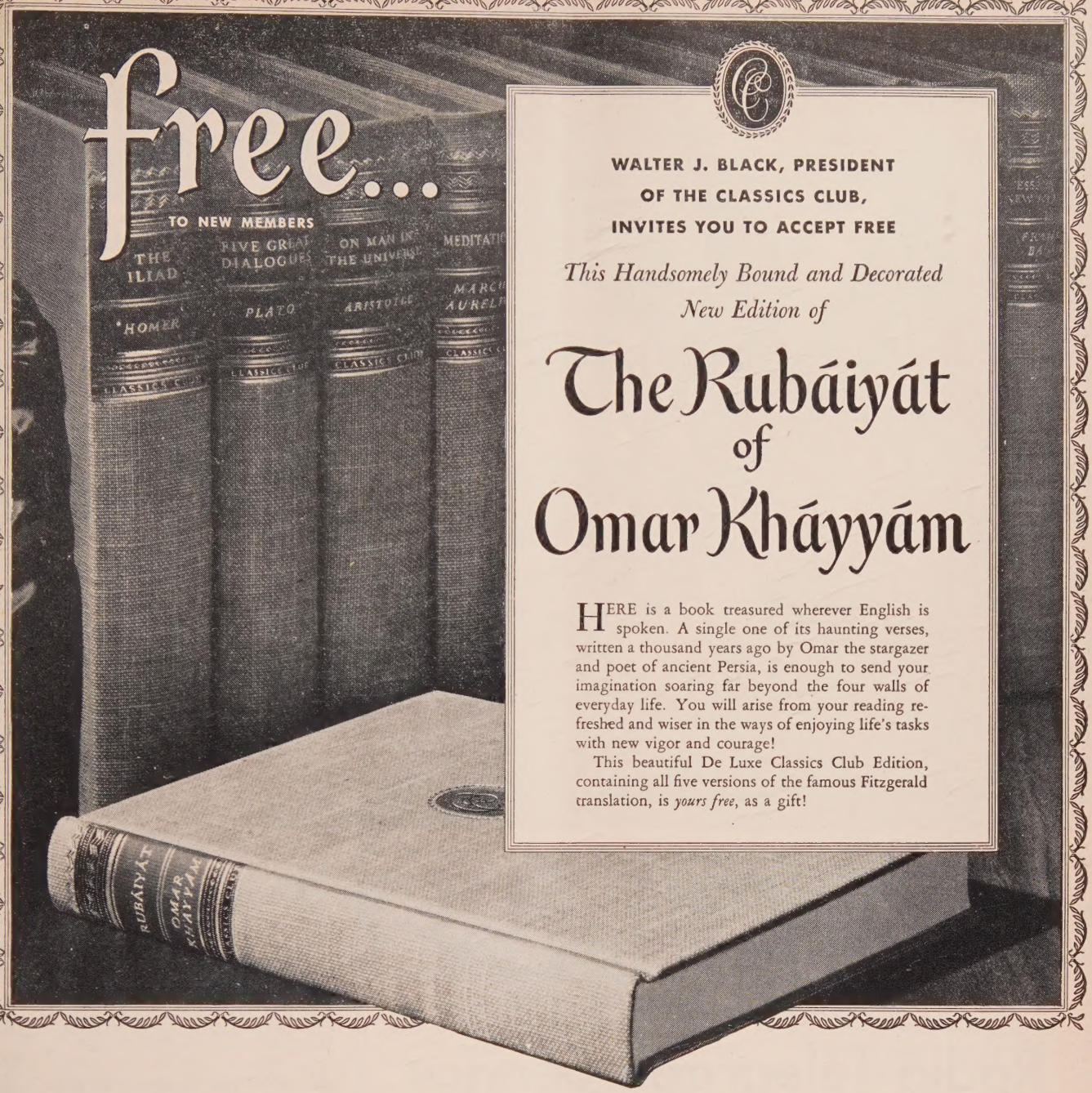
FOR the first time in North and South America, a woman is running for the presidency of a country—at least, we think it's the first time (contradictions welcome). She is Paulina Alsina Grau, sister-in-law of Cuba's chief executive. Señora Grau is already campaigning for the June, 1948 election.

Arctic Twitters in Wintertime

SO MILD was the early part of this winter in Norway that lakes in the southern peninsula remained ice-free-while birds which usually fly south in September were still, months later, flitting about the Atlantic fjords. Residents of Tromsoe, which lies several degrees above the Arctic Circle, even reported hearing songs of various summer birds during the Christmas holidays. Then, cruel circumstances! Extreme cold hit the country at the end of February, glazing the lakes and blitzing the birds.

New "Eyes" for Thames Coalers

DESPITE fog, tides, bends or even the skipper's blurry eyesight, British coal ships will henceforth navigate the Thames with extra punctuality—thanks to the Decca Navigators. This new device permits a pattern of radio waves, beamed from a master transmitting station operating with three satellite stations, to be registered on a dial aboard-ship, thereby indicating the ship's position and enabling it to navigate the



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narrowest channels. Four coalers have already been equipped with Decca sets loaned by the Admiralty. More ships will get them soon.

"Crab" Ship Snares Herring

IN FLOROE, a Norwegian village, shipwrights have built a fishing boat that emulates the crab—it can move sideways as well as backward and forward. This trick, said to be extremely useful in catching herring, is accomplished by a special propeller mounted amidships.

Brazil's Literacy Drive

BRAZIL is starting an all-out campaign to wipe out illiteracy. The Ministry of Education recently appointed a commission to tackle the job of bringing the three R's to the unschooled 55 per cent of the country's adult population. With April 15 as the kickoff date, classes for adults will be held in every village, town and city.

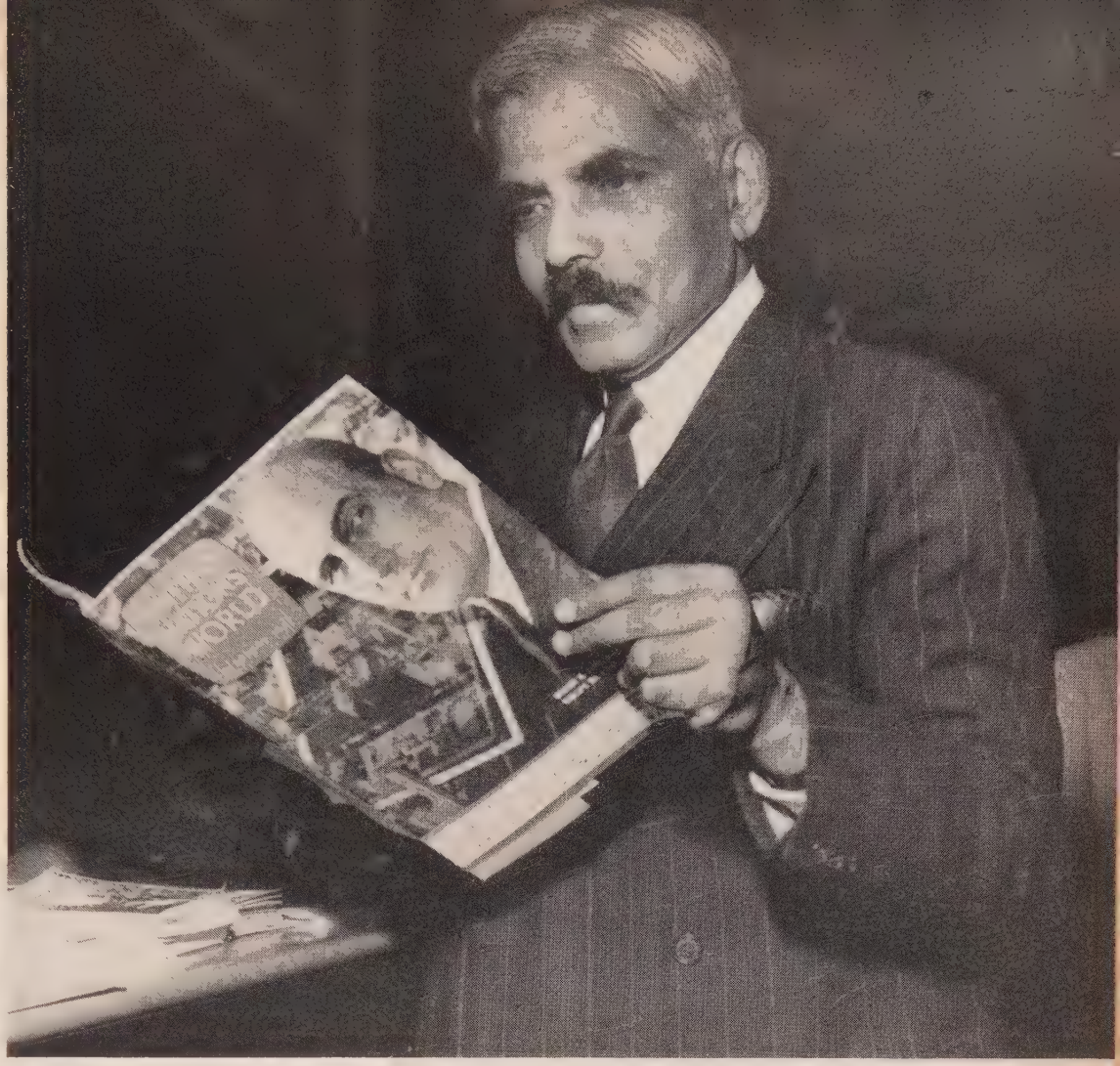
Transpacific Trek?

MORE than 12,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry now in Japan have applied for repatriation to the United States. Most of them were stranded at the outbreak of the war while visiting relatives or at school, or had been brought to Japan by their families while of minor age.

Plaudits for Tomato Juice

THE humble glass of tomato juice is going places. Until UNRRA came along, Poland didn't know about it. Now her magazines are publishing recipes for home-made tomato juice along with hints on how to store up a winter's supply. *Note.* Americans deserve as much credit for introducing tomato juice as does the man who introduced wheat to agriculture, says a Chinese writer.

UNITED NATIONS WORLD



Here is Ramaswami Mudaliar, airman of the Economic and cial Council of the United tions. He is just one of the ding United Nations figures o regularly read the UNITED ATIONS WORLD.

* * *

We at the UNITED NATIONS ORLD are pledged—in the same y as are the members of the cretariat of the United Na-ns—to uphold the interests world cooperation. We must port and analyze world events, m a *world* standpoint, in such way as to interest the think-g people of the *world*.

WE KNOW OF NO BETTER WAY TO DESCRIBE THE UN WORLD THAN TO REPRODUCE THESE RULES OF THE EDITORIAL STAFF

1. There is no place in the world "distant" or "far" (from where?)
2. No place, culture, custom or people is "strange", (to whom?) "exotic", "queer", or "bizarre".
3. People can be "illiterate" but never "ignorant"; they can be "simple" but never "backward".
4. Avoid any suggestion of the superiority or the inferiority of any race, color or religious group.
5. There are no "heathen", no "pagan cultures", no "Christian ideals" (except in direct discussion), and no "chosen people".
6. Avoid such meaningless clichés as "East is east and west is west, and never the two shall meet"; "the sun never sets on the British Empire"; "the white man's burden"; or "the yellow peril".
7. Treat every national or local custom with the respect it deserves.
8. Avoid the word "natives" as it has been shaped by imperial custom; use it only in the exact sense, for example: as a "native" of New York—not "the natives of New Guinea".
9. Avoid "we", "ourselves", etc., when referring to citizens of the U.S. or to Westerners in general. "We" are *all* the people.
10. There can be no preaching (*who* is in a position to preach and to *whom*?)
11. Give the *FACTS*. Be objective. The people will make up their own minds... and probably they will be pretty close to right!
12. "Important persons" includes everybody of good will.

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A Job for the Padres

BRITISH Navy conscripts have a low religious I.Q., according to Admiral Sir Geoffrey Layton, commander in chief of the Portsmouth Naval Station. In questioning the men—aged 18 or 19—he found that 49 per cent knew no more of the Lord's Prayer than the opening words "Our Father which art in Heaven." Eighty-three per cent knew what Christmas commemorated but only 45 per cent understood the significance of Easter.

The "Cattalo"

CANADIAN scientists, after 25 years of breeding, have developed a "cattalo," a cross between the buffalo and the cow. It is said to be as much as 50 per cent heavier than an ordinary steer and to possess unusual qualities in withstanding blizzards and extreme cold.

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Around Our Own Office

EVERY day, hundreds of visitors to the Library of Congress' Exhibition on European Treaties in Washington are studying the five-column map —35 Conflicts of World Significance: 1947—that appeared in our first issue (February). Discussing the enlarged

reproduction displayed prominently among the exhibits, Dr. Luther H. Evans, Librarian of Congress, said: "No other map I have currently seen has displayed the problems confronting all of us with greater clarity and objectivity. . . . With the publication of this map UNITED NATIONS WORLD has made a distinct contribution toward a better understanding of the problems of the day."

Stalin's "Friend"

OUR roving correspondent for Europe and the U.S.S.R., Leo Lania, blew into the office a short time ago and told us about his frontier experience. When he left Vienna for Switzerland he did not realize that he needed a special transit visa. So he was surprised when a Russian police sergeant hauled him off the train amid gloomy head-shaking among his fellow-passengers. The sergeant left him at a shack in charge of two Soviet soldiers. Lania, in his limited Russian, could make no impression on the soldiers. Finally he showed them his UNITED NATIONS WORLD credentials. Seeing UN they were really impressed. "Ah, UN, UN," they said. Suddenly an idea struck him, and he rattled off the names of Stalin, Molotov, Vishinsky and other important Russians as if they were his best friends. The combination clicked —even the sergeant, when he returned, put the OK on Lania.

Address: U.S.A., United Nations

MRS. ADA MCCORMICK, editor and publisher of the unique and very individually edited monthly *Letter*, is, we believe, the first owner of a private enterprise to use United Nations in her address. Her letterhead and the masthead of her magazine read: "Tucson, Arizona, U. S. A., United Nations." Do our readers know of any others?

One-Man UN Flag Campaign

WE HAVE had considerable correspondence with ex-Sergeant Herbert R. Hands who conceived the idea that "an official flag of the UN fly above the national colors of every country in the interest of world peace and brotherhood." Hands kept plugging away, and received hundreds of encouraging letters. His home town, Crestwood, N. Y., backed him to the hilt. He even heard from Albert Einstein and former Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts. From the office of the UN Secretary-General he learned that as yet no flag has been adopted. The UN does, however, have an official seal which we reproduce here.

Flitz, Slitz, Blitz

AMONG the cartoons from many nations that were reproduced in our February issue was one from Bombay showing Mrs. Pandit's triumphant return to India from the UN General Assembly in New York. The clipping which first reached us did not give the source. A cable inquiry brought the reply that it had appeared in *Flitz*. Acquainted with the Bombay newsmagazine *Blitz*, we set up the credit line (correctly) as *Blitz*. Then from a well-informed friend came a wire confirming *Flitz*, so we had to assume that a new competing paper was so named. Since the magazine was just going to press, we telephoned the printer. But over the wire "F" sounds so much like "S" that the credit actually appeared as *Slitz*. Too late we got a complete clipping from *Blitz*. The cost of this typographical mix-up was estimated at $19.80 (not including overhead). We now hereby apologize to the publishers of *Blitz*, who, we trust, will enjoy the comedy of errors as much as we did (after we got over it).

UNITED NATIONS WORLD

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APRIL, 1947

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SIGNING OF ANGLO-FRENCH ALLIANCE, DUNKERQUE, MARCH 4.

Top to Bottom

Georges Bidault, France's Foreign Minister (left), greets Ernest Bevin, Britain's Foreign Minister, during solemn ceremony at the historic scene of Britain's repulse in 1940.

Bevin makes a speech to the gathering. Pact binds both countries to automatic mutual military support in case of aggression by Germany.

Bidault and Bevin sign the document for which France has been clamoring since World War I.

A friendly handclasp ends the ceremony as smiles light up on faces of all present. Afterward the two foreign ministers hopped for Moscow.

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"The Other Fellow Started It . . ."

THIS IS WHERE WE CAME IN

By FRED SMITH

Fred Smith, one of the Editors of UNITED NATIONS WORLD, *has talked to a lot of people in the street, and has asked the Editorial Board for this page in order to express what he considers to be the position of the little man in the present situation*

Well, here we are again.

"The other fellow" is trying to start something.

Oh, *I'm* all right. God knows *I* don't want another war. *My* country is full of people with one eye, or no eyes; one leg, or no legs, or wooden legs. *My* hospitals are full of civilians who are reaping the disasters of post-war epidemics. The economy of *my* country is shot to pieces, and I'm hearing talk on all sides of the most stupendous, colossal, six-alarm depression ever witnessed by mortal man. As a result of the war that I've just been through, I have accumulated the most devastating collection of ills, problems, discouragements, disenchantments, and just plain out-and-out impossible situations that the human race has ever seen.

That's *my* situation.

And while I brood about it the guy across the street is beating his chest and accusing *me* of interfering with *his* liberty and *his* peace of mind; and in the back of his head (I know it, I can feel it) is the determination to organize *his* forces and *his* friends and get *me* and *my* friends put out of the way so that he can live his life in peace, and maybe have a chance to recover from his own ills. He is in the same fix that I'm in.

And do you know who I am? I'm *Russia.* I'm the *U.S.A.* I'm *France,* I'm the *United Kingdom.* I'm *Czechoslovakia,* and *Yugoslavia,* and *Greece,* and *Turkey,* and everybody else who calls himself a nation. And the guy across the street from me, who is all of those same people, is pointing his finger at *me* and blaming *me* for the cataclysm that he has convinced himself is about to start.

What the "other fellow" doesn't seem to realize (and perhaps *I* haven't realized) is that it doesn't make much difference *who* starts it.

The bitter truth is that after it is all over nobody is going to be left to blame anybody.

All of us marched into World War II shouldering rifles. We flew out of it with our tails between our legs, scared silly, with the blinding light of an atom bomb in our eyes.

Well, boys, that is where we *start* in World War III. The atom bomb is the *beginning,* not the *end.*

So maybe we ought to take time out and add up the score.

1. The world knows that there is at least one stock of atom bombs lying around, all ready, with a little adjustment, to start ticking.

2. It's entirely possible that some other people have stocks of atom bombs, too. But they are keeping them under the counter.

3. We know that there are a lot of atomic scientists loose in the world—and they are not all on my side, whoever I happen to be at the moment: If they have to learn how to make an atom bomb in a hurry to save their own skins, you'll be surprised how fast they can learn. And when they know how to do *that,* they'll think of *something even better.* Something really *classic.* Something that, with a simple twist of the wrist, will slide half a nation off into the ocean. Something dramatic like that.

Yes, it will be a very colorful performance. It won't last long, but, boy, it will be good! Even the least imaginative of us—even those of us with absolutely no talent for story-telling—will be able to startle the daylights out of our grandchildren.

Except, of course, there won't be any grandchildren.

And, gentlemen, it doesn't matter a damn *who* started it.

* * *

O. K. What are we going to do about it?

Remember the United Nations? It's an organization. Fifty-five nations (including mine—and the "other fellow's") have officially declared that they will refer sticky matters, that might lead to war, to that organization. That is because in less heated and more frightened moments, before the finish of the last devastating war, we decided that there would be no excuse for going through all that again. "There is *no excuse,*" we said righteously, "There is *no reason* for *anybody* ever taking the *first step.* The one that makes the *first move* will be *stopped in his tracks.*"

People forget quickly. They forget, among other things, that *nobody* ever takes the first step. Everybody always takes the *second* step. The second step is always taken out of self defense. *There is no first rung on the ladder to war.*

The idea was to put the United Nations, the arbitrating organization, in the position on the ladder where the first rung would ordinarily be.

Well, it's there. So people are *stepping over it.* At this point, virtually every important government has openly and flagrantly, or quietly and insidiously, stepped over it.

If the United Nations isn't "geared up" to handle the situation, why, for the sake of humanity, doesn't somebody gear it up—and quick?

Then we would *really* have the United Nations, a place where we could get tough with each other and sweat out some kind of agreement that would give mankind a continuing option on staying alive

The actors are there, the stage is lighted, the audience is impatient. Everything required to keep the peace is ready and waiting.

This is the first generation in the history of man to have the breath-taking opportunity to see the play that humanity has dreamed about.

So instead of ringing up the curtain, we sit around pointing fingers at each other.

A fine lot of adults *we* turned out to be!

BALANCE SHEET OF DISASTER

The former Deputy Chief of U.S. Naval Intelligence shapes up the relative power potentials of the two great giants of the earth—the United States and the U.S.S.R.—and warns the world to stop and think while time remains.

By Rear Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias, U.S.N. (Ret.)

It is with infinite hesitation that one undertakes at this serious moment the discouraging task of counting the relative political and economic forces of the Allies of yesterday. Two years ago, only the Nazis and Fascists would have dared to hope that within 24 months after V-E Day the Western democracies and the U.S.S.R. would be sharply divided by distrust and that thoughts of another armed conflict would be voiced by a considerable number of serious minded people.

However, there are solutions to the problems now confronting us. In the interest of peace a frank examination of the potentialities of both sides should be made, for there are too many people who believe that in case of a war between the two giants of our time —the United States and the U.S.S.R.— the other peoples of the world would make their choice easily: supporters of the United States assume that they would go automatically with the Western democracies; U.S.S.R. supporters assume that the bulk of the world's population would assist them. Many people are under the impression that a war would consist chiefly of a few air excursions with atom bombs. At the same time many in the U.S.S.R. assume that the opponent regimes would crumble under the impact of revolutionary strife.

The truth is that any war other than a concerted action by the United States against an aggressor would, under the present conditions of technical development, end in disaster for humanity. The prospect is that such a war would be the longest war in history; that it would result in the complete destruction of vast parts of the inhabited earth. Humanity is deeply divided and in case of such a conflict hundreds of millions of people would be unable to decide with whom to align themselves. It would be the most ruthless atomic, biological, bacteriological, rocket and genocide war that humanity has ever experienced.

The Lineup in Case of War

It can be safely assumed that if the war begins outside of the United Nations framework, it will be almost impossible to establish the real aggressor. Each side will contend that it is fighting for the highest ideals — the Western world will proclaim that it is fighting for the establishment of democracy everywhere in the world while Russia will say that it is fighting for the establishment of universal socialism. Under these slogans, the lineup in case of war would probably follow present trends but there are quite likely to be many surprises in the lineup of certain nations when confronted with the realities of war.

In case of a conflict—starting outside of the United Nations Organization— the Western bloc would have 414 millions on its side (see table). The Eastern bloc would have 293 millions on its side. Of course, the great unknown factor is Asia, where it can be expected that China, under Chiang Kai-shek, with some 300 millions would join the Western side, while the Chinese Communists with 100 millions would fight with Russia. Forty-seven million Europeans would be neutral at the start of the war, and so also would India's 388 millions; plus another 259 millions who are doubtful, all over the world.

Of course, these alignments representing the peoples involved are only one of the elements to be considered in trying to evaluate the various assets of the potential opponents. However, as humanitarians, we have a duty to consider this numerical factor as extremely important for, after all, unless we let ourselves be guided by savage passions, we cannot fail to think of the majority of humans and their aspirations.

The most tragic aspect of this situation is the tremendous number of people who can be expected to remain neutral in such a war either as a country or in their own conscience. We had hoped after the war of 1939-45 that the very notion of neutrality would disappear and that an international society would be guided by the general concepts of international law. In principle, there should be no neutrality and all peace-loving and just peoples should participate in punitive action against an aggressor. Anti-neutral sentiment was very strong when the war ended. Former neutral democracies made every effort to be admitted into the United Nations and to shake off the stigma of neutrality which has ceased to be an attitude of which people can be proud. And yet, fourteen months after the solemn creation of the United Nations there are already hundreds of millions of people—some among them

The Author: Rear Admiral Ellis Mark Zacharias, U.S.N. (Ret.), is regarded as Sir Reginald Hall's successor as the world's foremost authority in international intelligence. Graduating with the famous 1912 Class of Annapolis, which also produced Admirals Denfield, Ramsey and Barbey, he spent 26 years of his Naval service in intelligence work, accumulatting an inside knowledge of world affairs which few of his contemporaries can match. During the war, he served as Deputy Chief of Naval Intelligence, then went to sea and commanded the battleship *New Mexico* in action against Saipan and Guam. He became widely known in the United States as the man who predicted Pearl Harbor and gained even wider fame with his highly successful psychological warfare campaign against Japan during the climactic last stages of the Pacific war. His recent book, *Secret Missions,* was hailed by experts as an "historical document." Admiral Zacharias is now on a nation-wide lecture tour, pleading for peace within the framework of the United Nations.

THE PROBABLE LINEUP — IF DISASTER CAME

Western Bloc	*Pop. (Millions)*	*Soviet Bloc*	*Pop. (Millions)*	*Neutrals*	*Pop. (Millions)*	*Uncertain*	*Pop. (Millions)*	*Civil War*	*Pop. (Millions)*
United States	140	U.S.S.R.	200	Belgium and Luxembourg	8	Afghanistan	12	China	457
Britain*	48	Albania†	1	Denmark	4	Africa§	80	France	40
Argentina*	14	Bulgaria	7	India	388	Burma	15	Italy	46
Australia*	7	Czechoslovakia*	14	Erie	3	Chile	5	Spain	27
Brazil*	45	Finland*	4	Netherlands	10	Dutch E. Indies	67		
Colombia†	10	Hungary*	9	Norway	3	Indo-China	25		
Canada	12	Mongolian People's Republic†	1	Portugal	8	Lebanon	1		
Egypt*†	17	Poland*	25	Sweden	7	Malaya	2		
Greece**	8	Rumania*	16	Switzerland	4	Mexico	25		
Iran†,	15	Yugoslavia*	16			Siam	16		
Iraq†	4					Syria	3		
New Zealand*	2					Venezuela	4		
Philippines*†	16					Yemen	4		
Saudi Arabia†	5								
South Africa	11								
Turkey	19								
Others	41								
WESTERN	**414**	**SOVIET**	**293**	**NEUTRALS**	**435**	**UNCERTAIN**	**259**	**CIVIL WAR**	**570**

Special Category: Germany (69 millions) and Austria (7 millions)—probably quickly overrun by U.S.S.R. but retaining strong Pro-Western underground.
Japan (73 millions)—ex-enemy state but probably in Western lineup.

* *Would experience considerable unrest.* ** *Center of grave trouble.* † *Unable to put modern army into the field.*
§ *Excluding Egypt, French territories and South Africa.*

representing the oldest civilizations on earth—who feel that they cannot take sides. This in itself is the gravest condemnation of belligerency on both sides. It indicates that many people will not be able to determine to their own satisfaction that it is a just war; they will not feel that they have a choice between good and evil, between what is moral and what is immoral.

During the war, the peoples of the world were told by the Allied governments that a new world based on law and order would emerge out of the victory of the anti-Axis forces. During the Dumbarton Oaks days, in San Francisco, London and New York, people were led to believe that military action would be justified only if a country committed an act of aggression in violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Only under such circumstances could the resources of the whole of mankind be mobilized by the United Nations to crush the aggressor in the same way as the resources of a state are used against crime. The people were given to understand that any war outside the framework of the United Nations would be a war of aggression.

The Major Régimes *are Stable*

In continuing with this discouraging balance sheet, we have to consider the stability of the respective régimes. There again, the more ruthless elements on each side display their illusions when they imagine that the government machinery of their opponents will break down early in the war. There is no doubt that in the Western world the system of parliamentary democracy is accepted by the majority of the people, if not unanimously, and that these régimes will have behind them in case of war practically the totality of their citizenry. The same applies to the Soviet régime, since the overwhelming majority of the people believe that the Communist system constitutes a great progressive step over the former Tsarist régime. The revolutionary wars they fought are chapters of glory and objects of admiration for almost all of their citizens. Therefore, one can say that the stability of the régimes on both sides is very strong and that no major military consequence can be expected from the weakening of either.

As far as economic resources are concerned, there is no doubt that the Western world would have the initial advantage of industrialization, of highly skilled labor and a vast industrial potential which can be transferred almost overnight into a war potential. The West would also have at its disposal the necessary raw materials for a prolonged war.

The Eastern bloc, while not having the advantage of industrialization in the initial stages, would have, however, a vast reserve of raw materials. But these would have to go through a stage of intensive development before becoming available to them. The Eastern group, too, would have a standard of living sufficiently low to make every sacrifice dictated by war acceptable. It would have vast spaces into which to retreat, in line with the tactics used in the last war. Above all, the East would have the advantage of being able to overrun the whole of Europe within a few weeks, extending their influence as far as the English Channel. No serious strategist in Europe can doubt that immediately after the outbreak of a war the Russian armies, with the sup-

(*Continued on Page* 80)

WORLD OPINION ON THE INTERNATIONAL CRISIS

THE world press and radio were filled during the last two weeks mainly with comments on the Truman speech regarding Greece and Turkey and on the future of the UN. Next in the limelight were world economic problems and the international wrangle over atomic energy control; then followed coverage on the Moscow Conference. Such issues as Palestine and Franco were also widely commented on.

LONDON—By and large, the right wing press hailed the Truman speech as the beginning of the crusade against Communism in Europe. The left wing press called it "aggressive" and a by-passing of the United Nations. The press of the center urged the need for more U. K. mediation between the U. S. and the Soviet Union.

The Times said the purpose of the Truman speech was purely defensive and was intended to obtain "security benefitting all, without exception."

The Manchester Guardian stated: "In the long run, to oppose Russia at every point . . . may lead to disaster. It will make common action . . . in the United Nations impossible . . . Britain and the United States together must try to convince Russia . . ." Also in the *Guardian*, Alistair Cooke was gloomy about the future: "Never has the Security Council seemed so academic, the Economic and Social Council so irrelevant, and the failure of the World Bank so ready and irrevocable."

In *The Daily Herald*, under the heading "US or UN?", Michael Foot expressed the following opinion: "Britain must relinquish many of its positions in the Middle East, and not only in Greece. Who should be our successor? America, acting in the interests of 'national security,' or the United Nations acting in the interests of the whole world? In the cause of peace there should be only one answer."

MOSCOW — Pravda sharply attacked the speech, and stated that the broad declarations of the U. S. on its loyalty to the UN are valueless because of Pres. Truman's policy, which "is in direct contradiction with the principles of the UN." *Tanyug* expressed similar views, and quoted the Yugoslav Communist paper *Borba* and the *Rude Pravo* to that effect.

TURKEY—In *Ulus*, Ankara's semi-official daily, Professor Nihat Erim applauded President Truman's speech: "Let us suppose for a moment," he wrote, "that Turkey had to yield to the pressure coming from her northern frontiers and had to open wide her doors. All the Near and Middle-Eastern countries would then have to give in easily, one by one. . . . Turkey knows that when she is resisting all threats made against her, she is not only serving her national honor and independence, but is safeguarding as well the rights and interests of all other peace loving countries. . . . We have now learned from President Truman that the greatest Republic of the world has sided with us." And "honorable and respectable countries will always keep their promises, whatever may be the cost."

GREECE—The Athens radio was elated: "The U. S. is prepared, even through war, to establish order throughout the world." It asked whether international communism would dare to go to war against the giant across the Atlantic.

RUMANIA—The Rumania Home Service, quoting the newspaper *Era Noua*, found the speech unconducive to a peaceful atmosphere, but was convinced that the Moscow Conference would succeed. The article quoted suggested caution in the following terms: "We accordingly make no comment nor shall we make the mistake of encouraging speeches against the peace."

INDIA—The *Times of India* considered Truman's pronouncement "momentous." The *Hindu* feared that American intervention in Greece and Turkey was "unfortunate" and thought that the President's move conflicted with the "basic United Nations principles." The *National Call* hoped the whole question would be taken up by the United Nations Assembly "in the interests of the Charter and proper international understanding."

SWEDEN—The *Svenska Dagbladet* was in favor of the speech. It said: "At present, war prophets are merely trying to lay open to suspicion the U. S. struggle for a new world Monroe Doctrine to secure peace by firmness." The *Morgen Tidningen* declared: "There is risk of reducing United Nations chances to fulfill its original purposes as an open great political platform and peace-promoting stabilizer."

NORWAY—The newspaper *Verdens Gang*, Oslo, summed up the situation as follows: "Although there is no reason for panic, it is clear that peace which should have followed the second war has been made difficult and postponed considerably."

A UN "POLL"

WE TALKED to 83 diplomat and high-ranking UN official from 38 nations, and asked them their reactions to the Truman speech and their views of the immediate international prospects.

Here are the results of our private diplomatic poll:

68 regretted, as a matter of principle, that the U. S. did not come before the UN with the Greek and Turkish problems. They considered the prestige of the UN seriously threatened, and expressed the hope that the U. S. would make more than a token gesture in the very near future to bring the whole Greek and Turkish matter before the UN.

Among the 83, 41 approved the American initiative, predicting that the latest move would stabilize the ratio of force between the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. and "stop the expansion of the Soviets."

15 were bitterly hostile to the U. S. move, calling it an "outright provocation."

22 predicted war for the spring of '48, or even for the summer of '47, unless there is a decisive change in Big Power policy and a complete agreement at least on the unlimited international control and inspection of atomic energy.

25 thought that in case of war, their nations would want to remain neutral.

30 were optimistic, despite the "extreme seriousness of the situation," and expected a considerable improvement in international relations as a result of the Moscow Conference.

REPORT FROM MOSCOW

What will be the outcome of the meeting of the Big Four Foreign Ministers in Moscow? Is there any real chance for agreement? Here a United Nations World Correspondent on the spot fills in some of the background of the discussions and suggests a possible solution.

DURING the first weeks of this meeting snow was swirling almost every evening as twilight fell and the electrical red stars on the Kremlin's pinnacles glowed dimly as if through fog. But both the weather and the chill atmosphere which gripped Moscow on the eve of the conference later began to warm up.

In this atmosphere hopes for the conference naturally brightened. It is still universally agreed this is not a peace conference, and that it probably will not even reach immediately a large-scale and conclusive agreement on the tremendous problem of Germany.

The Main Question

AT THE conclusion of the conference, will the major powers have edged closer to or farther away from agreement on the broad outlines under which occupation of the presently drawn and quartered Reich will—or can—proceed in relative quadripartite harmony? To desire agreement is easy; to achieve it is difficult.

The statesmen gathered here in Moscow, in Spasso House, Moskva Hotel, Stariy Dom, the various embassies, and behind the crennelated walls of the Kremlin and in the Politburo itself, hardly relish the prospect of failure. We all live on the threshold of the atomic age, and atom bombs they say, can blow up even statesmen.

Whispers of a Compromise

THE more urbane and sophisticated members of the British and French delegations already are whispering of a compromise. Like all compromises it is more pragmatic than philosophically airtight, but it deserves a studied hearing. Why should not America accept a socialist Reich provided it were democratic within the western meaning of that word, and why should not Russia accept such a democratic Germany provided it were socialist?

Even assuming agreement on two such Protean words as "democracy" and "socialism," the conference would then move on in new discussion and debate to the very hard reality of the riddle of reparations—and here, the going is bound to be roughest. For reparations must be both the touchstone and keystone of any genuine and durable agreement.

It is in this light that Molotov's far-reaching proposals, tossed on the table at the opening of the second week of discussions, struck at the heart of the issue. He proposed: 1) reparations to the U. S. S. R. of ten billion dollars; 2) raising the level of industry from the present agreed level of 5.8 million tons of steel ingot production per annum, to from ten to twelve million; 3) reparations to come not only from capital goods as hitherto, but also from current production; 4) the program to extend for twenty years.

The Western powers' rejoinder was not long in coming. The United Kingdom's Bevin observed that the British taxpayer would and could countenance no program of reparations from current production which would make occupation costs heavier and would, in effect, place Britain in the insane position of paying reparations to an ally. America's Marshall was somewhat chary of such an extensive raising of the level of German heavy industry, and was cool but not categorically opposed to the principle of reparations from current production.

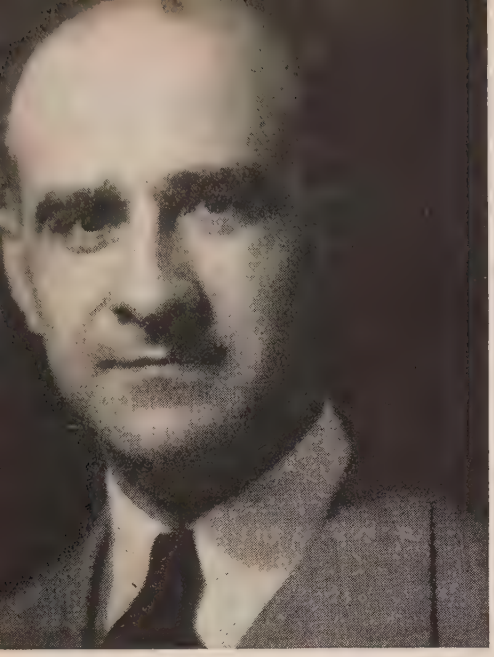
Ground for Agreement

IS THERE then any ground for possible agreement? There is. The Anglo-Americans will, and must, insist on the realization of the "first charge principle," namely that the first charge on any German exports will go to defray expenses for necessary food imports—the annual bill for the food deficit in the Western Zone is now almost a half-billion dollars annually. Further, they will insist that countries receiving reparations from current production supply the bulk of the raw materials. And thirdly, they will insist on genuine political and economic unification of the Reich. With these legitimate demands granted, they will then more than likely accept a substantial raising in the level of industry and some scheme for reparations from current production—the best estimates run around 500 million dollars annually for no more than ten years. That France would go along with this is still conjectural.

This faces Russia with an admittedly difficult choice. The Soviet Union needs reparations desperately—and now. Her own zone in Germany is supplying at present an estimated half-billion dollars in exports annually, but a law of diminishing returns is in effect, as a result of depleted stockpiles and inventories, and reckless plant dismantling. On the other hand, if the "first charge principle" were met and the necessary pump-priming steps were taken, it would be two years, or possibly more, before any reparations goods could begin flowing eastward.

Russia might well decide to hole up in her own zone save for one compelling factor—this would mean irrevocable loss of all political and economic say in the management of the Ruhr, the industrial heart of Europe. Lights are burning long and late in the Kremlin these April evenings, but it is unlikely that the realists who rule Russia seriously contemplate such an abandonment. Certainly not the realist, J. Stalin.

If the reparations riddle is resolved the way all lasting agreements are reached — by compromise — then the great debate on the political structure of Germany (whether it is to be federalist or centralized) will be vigorous, enlivening, but secondary. Many honestly ask here in Moscow, whether such an agreement can be reached. It can be—maybe not at Moscow perhaps, but because of the groundwork laid here. For the political is, and remains, the art of the possible.



Exclusive Interviews:
BASIL J. VLAVIANOS
Outstanding Greek Liberal—

In the present crisis, Vlavianos welcomes the cooperation between the U. S. and Greece, but is opposed to support of the present Greek regime. He sees the only peaceful solution to the present world crisis in a strong United Nations, an effective system of collective security and the increasing development of true democracy in Greece and everywhere in the world. Vlavianos suggests General Nickolas Plastiras and John Sofianopoulos as leaders of a new democratic government in Greece.

BASIL J. VLAVIANOS *has specialized in international affairs since* 1927, *and is today one of the most world-minded Greek spokesmen, with a long period of residence in the United States. Vlavianos was born in Greece in* 1903; *studied in Greece, Germany, and France, has represented Greece at several International Congresses, and is well known for his fight for democracy. Throughout the war he strongly advocated in his New York daily Greek-American newspaper, the* National Herald—*as in his other writings—a democratic solution for Greece and the fullest cooperation with the Allies. He is against all extremes. Vlavianos has recently visited Greece.*

Q. How do you think the overwhelming majority of the Greek people feel about the present situation?

A. Eighty-five per cent of the people of Greece, to my mind, welcome American assistance in the reconstruction of their country, which has been so tragically ravaged by the Axis armies. However, this same majority does not want American help to aid, directly or indirectly, those forces in Greece which are using anti-democratic methods and terroristic practices.

Q. How did the present Government come into power?

A. It is the outgrowth of the unfortunate policies followed by the Allies in connection with Greece. This is especially true of the British policies. In spite of the advice and protests of many wonderful democratic-thinking British leaders who understand that democracy is the only solution for Greece, the British Government has preferred to strengthen the extreme right. Elections were held in March, 1946, based on false electoral lists and in the midst of terrorism and fear. All parties left of the center, and one of the center parties, refused to participate. Out of approximately two million voters in the lists, only 1,117,000 voted, and the Royalists received about 700,000 of these votes.

Q. Does the present Government practice democracy?

A. I am sorry to say that all Royalist governments in Greece, including the present one, have departed from democratic processes.

Q. Can you mention concrete examples of anti-democratic actions in Greece?

A. Yes. I will quote to you from the report of the British parliamentary delegation which visited Greece last August. On Page 4: "Security committees have been set up in every province and . . . people can be arrested, put in prison and detained indefinitely without trial . . . The Government has also taken exceedingly drastic measures in connection with the Trade Unions."

Q. Are there people in Greece who, helped by the Great Powers, could establish a democratic regime until the people can freely express their will?

A. Yes, I believe there are. I shall mention just two of them, one from the conservative side, and one from the left. These are Nickolas Plastiras and John Sofianopoulos. General Plastiras, despite his conservative philosophy, is opposed to both the extreme right and the extreme left. John Sofianopoulos saved his country in 1944 from civil war by arranging the so-called Varkiza Agreement between the Greek Government and the Greek Resistance. Later, he proved his diplomatic abilities at the San Francisco and London General Assemblies, where he represented Greece in his capacity as Foreign Minister. Both of these men could establish a middle-of-the-road democratic government.

Q. How about the international implications of American help to Greece?

A. The Greek people do not want to continue to be used as a battlefield between East and West. Their basic hope is that the great powers will reach an agreement within the framework of the United Nations. If such an agreement cannot be reached, then much greater help and armies than are presently foreseen will be required in order to protect the independence of Greece.

Q. Do you think the United Nations can help in the present situation?

A. Of course. To my mind, it would be to the advantage of all concerned if American assistance had been attempted through the UN first. The matter could have been handled through the Economic and Social Council, where there is no possibility of a veto. But, even if some question had been brought before the Security Council and Russia had vetoed measures aimed toward the pacification of Greece and the establishment of a democracy there, this would have disqualified her tremendously in Greece and in the public opinion of the whole world.

HERBERT V. EVATT,

Australia's Minister for External Affairs—

Physical disorders and sharp disputes following in the wake of a long chaotic war are testing the skill and patience of the world's statesmen, says Dr. Evatt—but he believes that all international problems are capable of equitable solution by peaceful methods. Arbitration within the framework of UN is one of the solutions, he suggests. Evatt believes that the UN is far from perfect, but that it is justifying the efforts of those who work hard to make it succeed. He pledges Australian cooperation as the spokesman of the country which is assuming Britain's obligations in South East Asia.

EVER since the San Francisco Conference, Herbert V. Evatt, Minister for External Affairs of Australia, has been recognized as one of the outstanding international political leaders. Despite the fact that he represents a small country, Evatt was instrumental in formulating many of the principles of the UN Charter and has become leading unofficial spokesman of small nations. The accompanying interview with Evatt on the international situation today was obtained by a UNW correspondent in Canberra.

Q. What has to be done to give UN its teeth and how can the effectiveness of the organization be enhanced within the framework of the Charter?

A. There are many occasions when outside arbitration must be brought to bear if peaceful solutions are to be found. There are many important objectives to be accomplished, among them the need to consolidate the strength of UN by supplying adequate power to enforce its authority—in effect, by giving the organization its teeth. The Charter contemplates military agreements providing for forces to be placed at UN's disposal. In my view, the time has arrived when this essential obligation should be met.

Q. How do you view the general international situation?

A. It is well to remember that an extensive process of readjustment must inevitably follow in the wake of a long war. There cannot be a quick changeover from war chaos to peace orderliness. During the last two years numerous difficulties have arisen and sharp disputes have tested all the skill and patience of statesmen. These things were to be expected. They are physical disorders coming after a grave illness. They are inconvenient and sometimes give rise to much anxiety but they will submit to wide treatment and can be remedied.

Q. What are some of the major remedies?

A. If we examine calmly and objectively the world's present state, we shall find no regional problems which cannot be solved by mutual understanding and patient handling. There are many occasions when outside arbitration must be brought to bear. It is this factor, as well as the constant danger that small incidents will develop into major disputes, which explains the imperative need for world organization, justifying the efforts of those trying to make it succeed.

Q. Are you satisfied with the accomplishments of UN to date?

A. UN is not yet working as well as we would wish but it is there that the wheels are turning. It is desirable that a number of specialized agencies now engaged in various phases of world relief and international technical coordination should be brought into direct relationship with UN. Within UN, duplication of administrative complexity needs to be avoided, the danger arising particularly in the Economic and Social Council, which must resist temptation to create many commissions where a small number would suffice.

Q. What exactly is Australia's so-called "controversial" Pacific policy?

A. In this region in South East Asia, Australia has begun to assume a greater share of general British Commonwealth responsibilities. This development is inevitable. The British race's genius lies in its capacity to adjust itself to changing circumstances each generation. It is not illogical, therefore, as the United Kingdom relin quishes responsibilities held for so long in these areas, that many should be taken over by Australia.

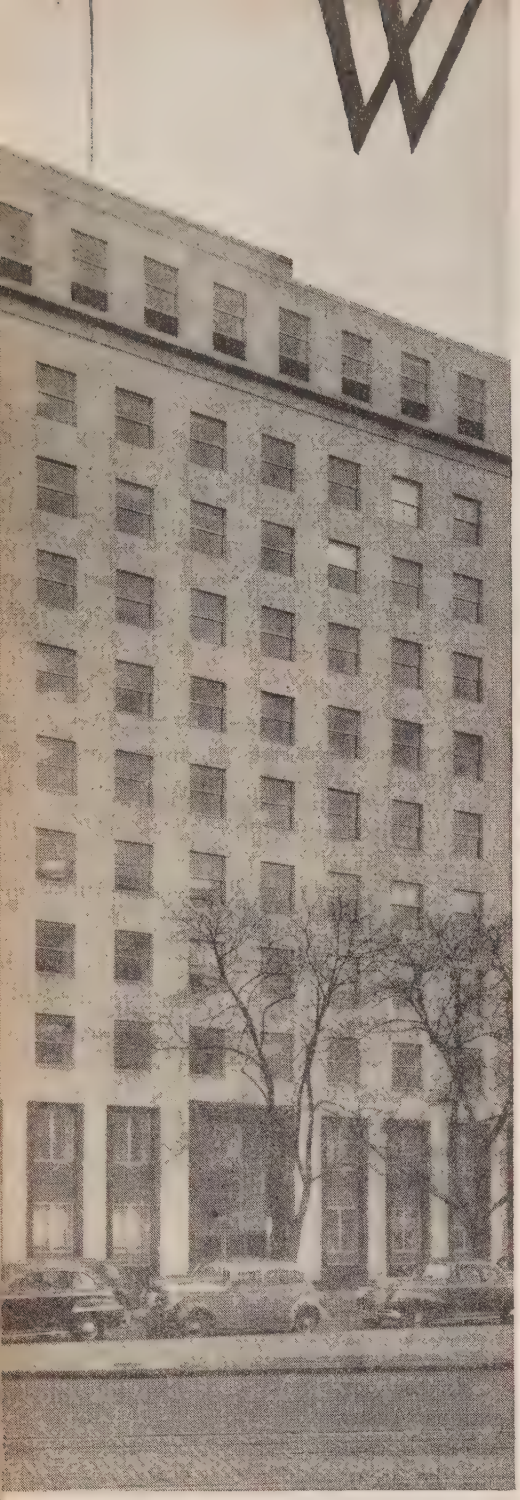
Q. How does Australia propose to go about assuming these new responsibilities?

A. In the performance of these obligations Australia will be helped by two qualities no other power in or outside the area can claim to possess to the same degree. Being geographically a part of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, Australia can be said to have a fully developed sense of that area. Tracing their origins back to the United Kingdom, with whom they have remained in partnership, Australians have a tradition of full experience over a long period in the working democratic institutions upon which government anywhere must ultimately be based. Thereby we feel we are peculiarly equipped to assess accurately, with a proper degree of understanding, the problems the areas around us have already begun to create.

WORLD BANK:

Council of $ecurities

What is the truth about the "World Bank"—agency of UN set up to finance reconstruction and development throughout the world? Why didn't Greece and Turkey ask it for loans instead of going direct to the U. S.? Here is the story of the Bank—its difficulties, stalemate and "rebirth"—told by Ladislas Farago, UNW's Washington correspondent.



few modest offices in this Washington build-
g serve as HQ for the World Bank.

The Author: Ladislas Farago, Washington
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itten on international affairs for the past 20
ars. In Ethiopia for the Associated Press he
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ents leading up to the Italo-Ethiopian war.
pon his return to London, he wrote the best-
ller *Abyssinia on the Eve*, and was appointed
ief foreign correspondent of the London *Sun-
y Chronicle*. Among his books are *Palestine at
e Crossroads, The Riddle of Arabia, German
ychological Warfare, The Axis Grand Strategy,
pan: Character and Morale*. During the war
was in charge of research and planning of
e Special Warfare Branch in the Office of the
ief of Naval Operations, U. S. Navy.

THE political climate of the world was far from clement on March 17, 1947, when John Jay McCloy assumed his duties as the new President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development — popularly known as the "World Bank." Five days earlier, President Truman had made his momentus appearance before a joint session of Congress requesting that "loans and credits" of $400,000,000 be granted to Greece and Turkey.

Both Greece and Turkey are members of the World Bank. Observers naturally felt that the Bank rather than the government of the United States should have been the recipient of their applications for these "loans." In a sense, therefore, President Truman's dramatic appeal for direct aid to them served by implication to focus attention on the apparent impotence of the World Bank.

Here then, many felt, was the rude awakening from one of those dreams men are so fond of dreaming. When the World Bank was first discussed way back in 1943-44, it was envisaged as a significant move to put economic teeth into international cooperation. The failure of the League of Nations was frequently attributed to the absence of an efficient economic organization to bolster its political structure. It was, therefore, generally felt that a Security Council could become truly effective only if it were aided by an inter-connected financial agency, or "Council of Securities."

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, working on the construction of a practical peace structure, was alert to the new facts of international life. While he never ceased to advocate the removal of the dollar sign as an instrument of diplomatic or power-political persuasion, he fully realized that money is, nevertheless, not merely the lifeblood of a nation, as it was in the times of Jonathan Swift, but, indeed, the lifeblood of the whole new world. Preoccupied as the late President was with the building of a firm economic scaffold around a projected international organization, he gave instructions to call a monetary and financial conference to Bretton Woods in July 1944—prior to the Dumbarton Oaks conversations where the foundation for the political structure of the United Nations was laid.

At Bretton Woods, Articles of Agreement were formulated for the establishment of an International Monetary Fund and a World Bank. Both institutions were designed from the very beginning to function as specialized agencies of the then projected United Nations. The Fund was to aid in the stabilization of currencies in member countries, while the Bank was to provide productive loans for reconstruction and development.

Events in the wake of Bretton Woods held out great promise for the future of the first world bank. The participation of the United States was assured when the Senate, on July 31, 1945, passed the Bretton Woods Agreements Act with only sixteen negative votes. Shortly thereafter, thirty-seven governments followed suit by ratifying the Articles of Agreement (the Bank now has 41 members, with three more to join by April 15).

A Rush for Loans—Then Stalemate

THE World Bank was formally established on December 27, 1945. Governors were appointed and Executive Directors chosen. An administrative apparatus was set up. Washington was selected as headquarters. A President and a Vice President were appointed.

The first applications for loans started pouring in at the Bank's head-

quarters—a few modest floors in a modernistic office building on a side street in Washington. France applied for a loan of $500,000,000; Denmark asked for $50,000,000; and Chile requested $40,000,000. Five preliminary applications were filed through so-called letters of intent by the Netherlands (for $500,000,000), Poland (for $600,000,000), Iran (for $250,000,000), Czechoslovakia (for $350,000,000), and Luxemburg ($20,000,000).

All signs indicated that the World Bank was a going concern.

But just then, within a few months of its formal establishment, early hopes pinned on the Bank's success suddenly dampened. Pangs of birth delayed operations month after month for almost a year. The Bank appeared before the public in a state of hibernation—a fiction rather than a fact of international cooperation.

A failure to educate the people in the true purposes of the Bank caused misapprehensions and even hostility. Popular opinion associated this international bank with the shopworn bugaboo of the "international banker." Prominent among rumors which further impaired the popular appeal the Bank needed most was the one which represented the United States as trying to impose its own political will on the Bank by controlling the consideration and allocation of loans.

On December 4, 1946, Eugene Meyer, first President of the Bank, handed in his resignation. Meyer's departure seemed to destroy whatever little public confidence was left. A number of names were prominently mentioned as presidential candidates—but in each case the candidate turned down the invitation. There appeared no taker for a job that pays $30,000 a year, and tax exempt at that. For 67 days the Bank had no head. It had the appearance of a rudderless boat drifting aimlessly in the stormy waters of high finance.

Why did Meyer Resign?

IT MAY be stated authoritatively that most of the rumors were unfounded, much of the mystery was artificially concocted, and the demise of the Bank, predicted by the pessimists and announced by the mischievous, was grossly exaggerated.

What, for example, was the truth behind Meyer's resignation?

Eugene Meyer is no young man. He will be 72 next October. He spent over 30 years of his life in strenuous public service before he "retired" in 1933 to be publisher of *The Washington Post.*

When President Truman asked him to take on still another public service job, this time on a global scale, he agreed to help in laying the administrative foundation of the World Bank but stipulated that he would resign when it reached the stage of formulating long-range policies. With the detached wisdom of his age, Meyer felt that his successor, the permanent President, should fight for the practical application of those policies.

There were, indeed, basic disagreements between Meyer and Emilio Gabriel Collado, a former top aide to Under-Secretary of State William L. Clayton, and until recently the American Executive Director of the Bank. But these disagreements were more theoretical than practical, developing out of certain deficiencies inherent in the original Articles of Agreement and of provisions of the United States Act which ratified them. At no time was the conflict a clash of personalities as hinted in the press and discussed in Washington salons.

The Impact of the United States

THE influence of the United States, the country which, with Canada, has the largest dollar surplus available for tapping by the Bank, is overwhelming. This impact expresses itself in a qualified clash between certain political and economic factors in the Bank's overall loan policies. It would be foolish to minimize the political factors involved in granting loans. The government of the United States is obligated to provide about 40 per cent of the Bank's total subscribed capital (see box). In formulating banking policies it will no doubt be a question of the "degree of political goodwill" of each applicant country before a loan is granted, and the American Executive Director will undoubtedly reserve the right to control the scrutiny of this "goodwill."

On the other hand, the making of productive loans will be based primarily on economic considerations, and "calculated risks" will be accepted when and if it can be proven that loans will facilitate and accelerate reconstruction and development.

The bulk of the Bank's projected capital will be raised through the sale of securities (obligations guaranteed by the Bank) in the open investment market. It follows, therefore, that since the Bank's funds must come, in the main, from the sale of bonds to individual investors, banks, insurance companies, and trust funds, the commercial soundness and economic stability of the Bank is a *conditio sine qua non.* The Bank will have to guard carefully its credit status if it wants to survive.

It is at this point that the Bank's affinity with the United States, on the one side, and with Wall Street on the other is most clearly marked.

Like it or not, the bulk of the World Bank's securities will be marketed in the United States, and, specifically, will be sold largely in the Wall Street area. It is a matter of fundamental prudence of self-protection for the potential investor to have an effective voice in the enhancement of the soundness of the loans to be granted. This

John Jay McCloy, the Bank's new President, took over a tough top-level job in the field of world reconstruction.

is precisely the reason why Wall Street is almost compelled to exercise influence and even control over the Bank's basic loan policy.

The U. S. National Advisory Council

THE influence of the United States is exercised by the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems, established by Congress when approving the Bretton Woods Articles of Agreement. The Council is composed of the Secretary of the Treasury as chairman, the Secretaries of State and Commerce, and the chairmen of the Boards of Governors of the Export-Import Bank and of the Federal Reserve System.

To all intents and purposes the Council is the Bank's highest supervising authority if only because, under law, it has the supreme authority to veto those loans of the Bank which are to be made in United States dollars. The American Executive Director acts under orders of the Council. He has the power to make actual use of the veto, thus overriding the President's decisions.

Of added significance is the political character of the Council, whose members are Presidential nominees and subject to change in the event of a Republican victory in the 1948 election. The law provides that loans floated in United States dollars should be consistent with the U. S. Government's policy on foreign lending.

It follows, therefore, that the Council must of necessity be guided by political, and even power-political, considerations as well as by a natural concern for the economic soundness of the loans. To be sure, it is precisely the prestige of the National Advisory Council in Wall Street and with the American people that will be of decided importance in marketing the Bank's securities in the world's best and largest market—the United States.

Impact of Soviet Absence

IN FORMULATING the Bank's loan policy, the presence of the United States in the Bank has as great an influence as the absence of the Soviet Union, although the impact of the latter is not as clearly visible. The Government of the U.S.S.R. has so far failed to ratify the Articles of Agreement, despite the fact that its official representatives, the Soviet Union's leading economic and financial experts, participated actively in the Bretton Woods Conference. Realistically, there cannot be an independent appraisal of the soundness of loans to be granted to Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, even though they are charter members of the Bank, without giving due consideration to the paramount Soviet interests in these countries. Similarly, the national economics and currency structures of Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Finland are under Soviet domination, a fact that cannot fail to influence the consideration of loans to them.

Experts are divided in their appraisal of the factors which underlie the stubborn absence of the U.S.S.R. from the World Bank. But how do Soviet writers explain this Russian aloofness, often regarded as more detrimental than advantageous to the U.S.S.R.? A study of the writings of Soviet economists such as Mikhail M. Stepanov, I. D. Zlobin, Professor Eugene Varga, and Dr. Jozef Trakhtenberg, reveals the following motives for the Soviet Union's absence from the Bank.

1. The charter of the Bank allows no veto power to the U.S.S.R.
2. The government of the United States failed to grant a loan to the Soviet Union while granting a substantial one to the United Kingdom.
3. The Bank is the "bait" for the International Monetary Fund. The charter stipulates that no country can become a member of the Bank without previously joining the Fund. Since the Fund requires the submission of trustworthy information concerning gold production and gold reserves, the Soviet government appears reluctant to comply with these requirements and to furnish other essential data.
4. If the Soviet Union were to adhere to the Fund and to the Bank under the present subscription quotas, it would be relegated to third place behind the United States and Great Britain. From a political point of view the Russians feel they can ill afford such a "loss of prestige."
5. It is contrary to present Soviet policy to support international monetary and financial institutions that would be oriented toward treating the whole of Europe as a single economic unit. This would run contrary to their long-range objective of integrating the Danubian countries into the Soviet economic system.
6. The charter of the Bank explicitly provides for the promotion of private foreign investments and international trade on the basis of free enterprise, free competition and free markets. This is in sharp contradiction to the planned economic system of the Soviet Union. Moreover, foreign trade is not only a rigidly controlled monopoly of the Soviet government but is gradually becoming a state monopoly of each of the countries within the Soviet orbit.

In view of these factors, it requires much optimism to expect the Soviet Union either to join the Bank or to become a truly effective and valuable partner within its framework. While in the past Soviet absence did have a dilatory effect on the Bank's operations, in the future it will undoubtedly complicate them, especially when loans to countries in the Soviet sphere of influence are considered. Contrary to common belief, economic factors outweigh political considerations in this respect. It will be left to the United States to guide the Bank with discretion and restraint when it comes to crossing bridges leading to Eastern European countries.

McCloy's Task

THESE are some of the problems which have in the past delayed the operations of the Bank and which still await conclusive solutions. But they no longer have a delaying effect. In fact, since March 17, the Bank has really buckled down to business under the energetic and flexible leadership of McCloy and his hand-picked lieutenants.

McCloy is 51. He is a prominent New York lawyer and a former assistant Secretary of War—but no banker himself. International monetary and financial circles applaud McCloy for the courage he revealed in accepting the presidency even before the Bank's faulty legislative basis and deficient banking policies had been modified. Even so, the new President assumes his duties under a gentlemen's agreement which gives him greater discretionary powers than those enjoyed by his predecessor. Collado agreed to "remove himself" from office so as to permit McCloy to choose his own top-ranking aides in line with his particular needs. He has been succeeded as American Executive Director by Eugene Robert Black, who is committed to work closely with the new President while remaining responsible to the National Advisory Council. The place left vacant by the death of Harold D. Smith was filled when McCloy invited Robert L. Garner to be Vice President.

In a large measure the prospects of the Bank now depend on the confidence which these three new officials will generate in the crucial dollar market, especially in New York, and on their success in convincing Wall Street of the soundness of the Bank's loan policies.

The Bank Goes into Action

With McCloy, Garner and Black at the helm, the Bank will be able to sail full steam ahead. There is much to be accomplished. Above all, the Bank will soon have to begin the sale of its securities on whatever markets are available—and there are not many outside the United States and Canada. McCloy and Garner are not quite ready to announce at this time the date when the first issue will be floated. The delay has nothing to do with the Bank. It is caused by the legislative provisions of the United States which require that each State Legislature separately approve the issuance of the securities in its own territory.

Maryland and New York were the first states to provide this Legislative approval, soon to be followed by New Jersey, California, and Connecticut. The latter is important because it is the seat of many insurance companies, counted among the Bank's best potential customers. So far only one state—Wisconsin—has indicated that it would not pass the necessary legislation.

The Bank plans to move cautiously when it comes to the first issue. Instead of initiating a full-scale sale of securities at the very outset, it will commence with a test issue and then plan its future strategy on the basis of the success of the test.

At present the Bank employs only 170 people and it does not expect to increase its staff beyond 300 or 400 members at the peak of operations. It was the intention of the founders and the principle of Meyer to express the international character of the bank in the very composition of its personnel. Recruiting was done on a world-wide basis, and today there are more than 20 lands represented on the payroll.

France in Line for First Loan

Most of the staff's time has so far been consumed with the examination of the loan applications already at the Bank. Under the Articles of Agreement, these examinations have to be carried out meticulously to establish the credit standing of an applicant. And it is far more difficult to adjudge the financial and economic stability of a country than it is to find out all about an applicant's financial standing and credit character, be it a private corporation or a hard-pressed fellow applying for an auto loan.

Two of the applications, those of France and Denmark, have been investigated by emissaries sent to Paris and Copenhagen. The preliminary work is almost completed on recommendations concerning the first actual applications. Much of the investigative work required by the filing of "letters of intent" by Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, Iran, and Luxembourg has also been completed. The day is not far off when the Bank will write its first check of nine figures—the first loan probably to be granted to France. Meanwhile, Greece has just notified the Bank of its intention to seek a loan at some later date when its reconstruction plans are completed.

For the time being the Bank operates "in the red," but expects to make money as soon as its lending operations begin. The soundness of its operations are reflected in the modest deficit, especially when related to the billions which it will eventually handle. It has already earned $289,889 interest on investment securities, a sum which would almost suffice to pay for the salaries of Executive Directors and their Alternates, of Officers and staff. The true scope of the Bank's operations is mirrored in a single item buried in the table of expenses—during the six months ended December 31, 1946, the Bank paid $41,078 for the handling and storage of gold, an item that is expected to grow as the Bank's activities expand and as more and more gold is to be handled and stored.

But while there is plenty of gold entrusted to the World Bank, no one on its staff has a King Midas-complex. The staff has borrowed its motto from Holmes who advised:

"Put not your trust in money, but put your money in trust."

WORLD BANK: FACTS AND FIGURES

Total Capitalization: $10,000,000,000
in 100,000 shares of $100,000 each.
Total Capital Subscribed: $7,833,500,000

THE CAPITAL

To be paid in by May 26, 1947 (20%)	$1,566,700,000
Uncalled capital (as guarantee for securities to be issued)	6,266,800,000
Total gold and U. S. dollar reserves to be held by the bank	790,170,000

THE SHARES

Total number of shares already allocated and subscribed	78,335
Shares to be allocated to Syria, Lebanon, Italy (membership pending)	1,910
Remainder of shares to be allocated to future members	19,755

THE MEMBERS

Belgium	El Salvador	Nicaragua
Bolivia	Ethiopia	Norway
Brazil	France	Panama
Canada	Greece	Paraguay
Chile	Guatemala	Peru
China	Honduras	Philippine Republic
Colombia	Iceland	Poland
Costa Rica	India	Turkey
Cuba	Iran	Union of South Africa
Czechoslovakia	Iraq	United Kingdom
Denmark	Luxembourg	United States
Dominican Republic	Mexico	Uruguay
Ecuador	Netherlands	Venezuela
Egypt		Yugoslavia

THE VOTES

Total voting power of 12 Executive Directors	88,585 votes
Total voting power of the United States Executive Director	32,000 votes*
Total voting power of 4 Executive Directors appointed by U.K. China, France, and India	29,250 votes
Total voting power of seven Executive Directors elected by 36 smaller countries	27,335 votes

* *U. S. has largest number of votes as it is the biggest subscriber (40.5% of total capital subscribed).*

PERSONAL OPINION

By VINCENT SHEEAN

The usually active Mr. Sheean, confined to his bed by a bout of malaria, listens in to the UN radio report and comes up with some personal thoughts about the Security Council, its members and the question of U. S. trusteeship of the Pacific islands.

NOT long ago an old friend came to call—a friend known to many thousands of readers, travelers, including G.I.'s, in season and out: the malaria. As I had not had the honor for some years, the impact was severe and I went to bed. For about a week I became a member of that faithful band, the most assiduous of radio listeners and newspaper readers, the shut-ins. Through some twenty-odd years of writing and speaking for the general public I have observed that the letters from shut-ins, real shut-ins, have a sincerity of feeling, a depth of concern, a reality of involvement in the affairs of the world, which oddly enough do not emerge from the letters of persons more actively engaged. It seems that the processes of reflection and even of emotion are stimulated by that solitude, or at least that quietude, which prolonged illness creates about it.

Certainly in my own case the thoughtful session with the bedside radio was productive of some result. I listened to the Security Council of the United Nations from Lake Success, admirably broadcast with scarcely any interruption by WNYC, the municipal station of New York. In the actual hall I should have been distracted by innumerable details of appearance, movement and manner, by gestures on the part of the participants, by the coming and going of friends and colleagues. Here, alone in my bedroom, the voices spoke out plain. It was impossible not to feel in them the play of certain forces, the hopes and disappointments of a whole epoch.

It was perhaps accident that this was so, as my first day as a shut-in listener was the day (March 7, 1947) on which the draft trusteeship agreement for the control of the Japanese mandated islands was before the Council for approval and seemed likely to pass. A good many of the strands of development came together in this affair. The Russians had, for one thing, announced their support of the American draft proposals, with three amendments of minor importance. In spite of many misgivings on the part of the press, which fears Russians bearing gifts far more than Greeks, this support had been well received in the United States as a whole and was thought to be of good omen for the future. The conference on peace terms with Germany and Austria was about to open in Moscow and did in fact open three days later, March 10.

The Americans had played ducks and drakes with the principles upon which the United States was founded, of course, for the draft proposals amount to annexation; and yet a case might be made for the idea that most of these Pacific isles are sparsely inhabited and unfit for self-government. (This would scarcely apply to Guam and Saipan; the inhabitants of the former looked to me, on my only visit, at least as advanced as most members of the United Nations). However that might be, the fact is that the Americans are in possession of the Marshall, Caroline and Marianas Islands and intend to remain there, fortifying them as strategic areas in the defense of . . . of . . . well, of world peace. Under the circumstances it would have been worse than foolish for any member of the Security Council to oppose the trusteeship of the United States.

A "Frenzy of Indifference"

NOR did any member in fact do so. But the lukewarmness of the gathering, I thought, was quite exceptional even in an era when the lukewarm is regarded as normal or slightly above. The delegate of France, M. Parodi, did not support the American proposal; he merely announced that he had "no objection" to it. The Polish delegate, M. Lange, proposed amendments looking toward a strengthening of the ethical basis of the transaction—pointing out how the Japanese had violated their mandate before 1941 by fortifying the islands, and how their deliberate plan of war-making made them unfit to hold mandates. The delegates of Australia and Great Britain, speaking from a tepidity which reached the outer edge of the lower lip, accepted the American trusteeship in principle but had various "ifs," "ands" and "buts" to put to it. The delegate of the Soviet Union was obviously interested in one thing only, the preservation of the sovereignty of the United Nations over these islands —of, in fact, the trusteeship principle. It might be said that the speeches, by and large, indicated a perfect frenzy of indifference about the practical point at issue. The only efforts made were upon various matters of principle or theory which might affect the development of power in the future.

The exception was Mr. Warren Austin, the chief of the American delegation to the United Nations. He actually seemed to care about the disposition of the ninety-eight islands, and, perhaps even more, he seemed to want a vote of the Council at that meeting. He said the issue had been before the nations for four months; there was no disagreement between them on the course to be taken, and now was the opportunity at last for a unanimous decision by the Security Council on a major question. It would be the first unanimous decision; and although Mr. Austin did not say so, the mere fact of achieving such a vote would have had a beneficent effect upon the raw and sensitive feelings of the world on the brink of the Moscow conference.

IT WAS not so to be. The Australian delegate, Mr. Paul Hasluck, proposed an extraordinarily clumsy resolution which would create a committee or sub-committee of the Security Council to consider the question, with

states "interested in the future of the Japanese islands" as participants whether they belonged to the Council or not. It was not at all clear what states Mr. Hasluck had in mind; the only one he mentioned was New Zealand. The Council's president, Mr. Aranha, of Brazil, tried in vain to get a little precision into the resolution, but failed. Mr. Austin in a very spirited intervention said he was at a loss to understand what was the meaning of the Australian delaying action at this time, since all members of the United Nations had had four months to signify their desire to be heard (under Article 31 of the Charter). In the end Sir Alexander Cadogan, of Great Britain, in the perfectly colorless and meaningless tones produced by Foreign Office training over the years, said he also had some amendments to offer and suggested an adjournment until the following Wednesday (March 12). Mr. Austin's daring wish for a unanimous vote was successfully wet-blanketed.

An Australian Hope—A U. S. Fear

On the following Wednesday, March 12, as I was still a shut-in, I pursued the sequel of this curious session. Communications were read from New Zealand and India indicating their desire to take part in the proposed discussions under the Australian resolution. The United States delegation proposed to open these discussions to the Netherlands and the Philippine Republic also, and the final disposal of the draft trusteeship agreement has thus been postponed until all these countries shall have stated their points of view and discussed whatever amendments may be desired in the text. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the trusteeship will be given to the United States (all the nations agree on this) but in the course of the palavers some reservations or emendations may be adopted which will open possibilities for interference by other countries in American control in the future. That is clearly the hope of the Australians and the fear of the Americans. Texts sometimes develop astonishing holes with the passage of time.

Lying there, listening to them, it seemed to me that their voices were nearly all dead, the voices of dead men. This does not apply to either Austin or Gromyko. Austin's Yankee vigor and bounce make even his most cut-and-dried language sound full of life. Gromyko's deep voice, poured out in one of the most expressive of all languages, is never dead. (It reminds me of a dictum of Paul Robeson's, that Russian is a language preeminently suited to bass voices.) Only when he was trying to explain why he made his extraordinary delaying proposal did Mr. Hasluck speak for himself. Then he said that he was surprised at Mr. Austin's vigorous opposition and would withdraw his proposal in favor of simple adjournment; and he added, upsetting several apple-carts at once, that his only purpose in making it had been to link up the trusteeship agreement not with any supposed legality of claim (or illegality on the part of Japan) but with the five years' war in the Pacific and with, in fact, the right of conquest.

The "Right of Conquest"

Now, since the right of conquest is precisely what the United Nations exists to oppose, and since every effort on the part of the American, Russian and Polish delegations, in their proposals and amendments, had been to skim over any such idea, the Australian statement constitutes one of the most destructive yet made in any part of the United Nations organization. Destructive, that is, of the institution itself, the very foundations of which it denies. From now on, so long as the United Nations exists it will be possible to point to this as a frank statement of the reality underlying the trusteeship agreement for the Pacific islands, and it will not be possible to give a very convincing answer. The efforts of the Australians, New Zealanders and others to interpose barriers to the free operation of American authority in the islands will develop during the coming weeks in various ways—by attempting to get the trusteeship linked to the Far Eastern Commission, to the final peace treaty with Japan, or to any other institution or international document which admits the concurrent authority of all the states participating in the war against Japan—but all will repose upon the concept of victory in battle, the right of conquest. Can it be truthfully said that this is not, in fact, the basis for the trusteeship?

The shut-in wonders, and, wondering, hopes to get a few clearer statements of principle on this subject before it is abandoned. For if we can catch a principle by the tail, let us hang on to it, even if only for half an hour in a sick-room; the rarity nowadays is great.

Workers of Saipan—one of the islands in line for United States trusteeship.

AMERICANS IN DISTRESS

BY PEARL S. BUCK

Nobel Prize Winner

Confused and a bit scared by a world they would like to understand but don't, the American people are lapsing into "localism," says Miss Buck. She recommends as an antidote cheap and easy travel and points out that tourists are preferable to soldiers.

THE train rumbled over the tracks toward Pittsburgh. In the dining car well-fed American business men and their equally well-fed wives were taking breakfast seriously. They did not talk much. Husbands and wives don't talk much here in the United States—at least not publicly. Perhaps everything has been said. I sat facing a silent couple, the man in a smooth woolen suit and the woman in an equally smooth silk dress. A mink coat hung on her shoulders. The car was warm, but the hills outside were covered with snow. The small unpainted houses of the countryside were half hidden in it. Fruit, cereal, eggs, bacon, toast, muffins, coffee—the usual American breakfast was on the table before us.

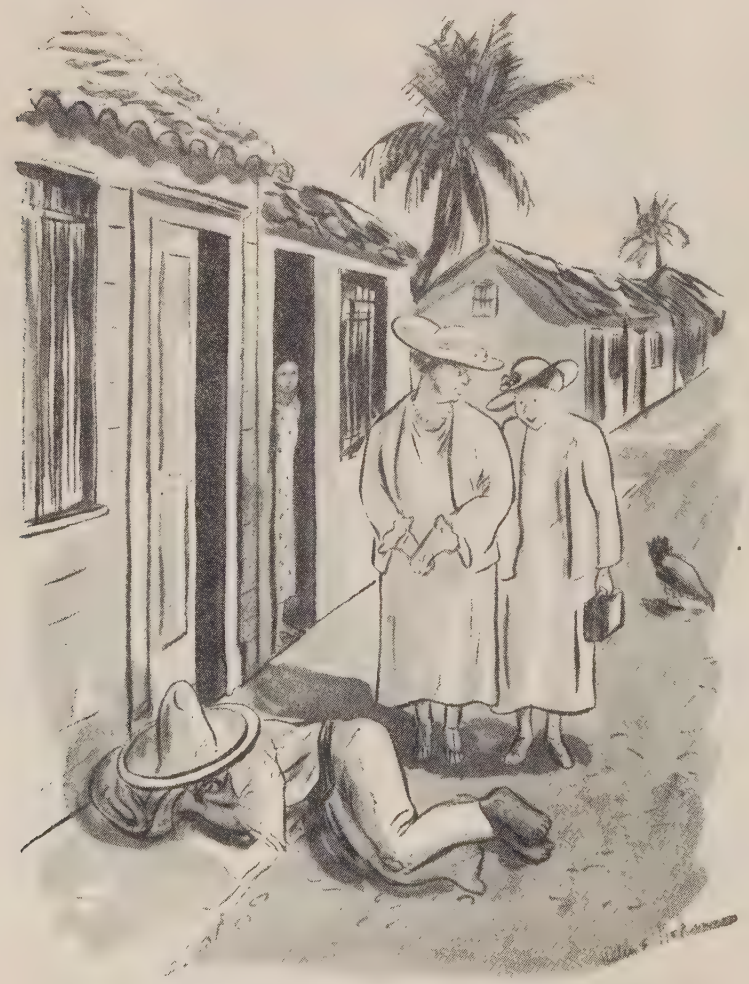
Suddenly the man continued a conversation begun in some previous time. "It sounds to me like some foreign organization," he rumbled. "I don't propose to give a penny. Our government has done enough to help foreigners."

The woman helped herself to sugar and cream. "I've made up my mind, too, Herbert. I'm going to give anything this year to organizations in our own home town."

So Speaks America

I said to myself, listening, that it was rich America, self-satisfied America, speaking across the table from me in the overheated dining car. But the same words, in different form, came to me a few hours later in Pittsburgh itself. Now Pittsburgh is a better city than it has been made out to be. The millionaires have tried to benefit the town, and there are some remarkable if astonishing monuments there to the wealth which the rich have tried to share in their peculiar fashion with the poor. I didn't care for the Cathedral of Learning. In the first place you can't learn in a cathedral. The lights are too poor. I was concerned with the number of young men and women I saw straining their eyes in the vaulted first floor. Moreover, there can't be college spirit in a monolith that towers over the city. There was too much silence in the place. I like to see young people streaming easily in and out of buildings that are flat on the ground. Learning ought not to be done in a pinnacle. This is just my notion and I may be all wrong. The early monks did have most of the learning and I suppose they carried on in spite of cathedrals. But that was a long time ago, and I thought learning now belonged to everybody. Perhaps I am always astonished at the way that millionaires give their money to the rest of us.

Pittsburgh is not as smoky as I had been led to believe. At least it is only smoky when the wind blows the wrong way. There are a lot of good people in Pittsburgh and they are trying hard to solve some of our American problems, such as the racial one. I went there especially on the invitation of a fine group of colored Americans and they were encouragingly hopeful. They had run an inter-racial camp during the summers for five years and none of the usual prophesies had come true. Everything had gone smoothly. But I felt in Pittsburgh, nevertheless, even though the wind was blowing the right way during my stay, that the voice of America was speaking there, too. For one thing, nobody was think-



"They sleep like that for hours. Shall we watch him a while?"

ing much of anything except Pittsburgh. True, there was plenty to think about. But Pittsburgh is only one dot in the nation, and the nation is only a small spot in the world. What happens in Pittsburgh is important, but not important enough to engage the whole time and attention even of people living there. However perfect the people in Pittsburgh may make their city, it may all be useless. If the world doesn't go the right way, it doesn't much matter how Pittsburgh goes, even to Pittsburgh.

Old Proverbs Out of Date

By some strange chance of the atom bomb, a lot of old proverbs which people have accumulated through the centuries have become obsolete—such proverbs, for example, as "Charity begins at home." When a man or woman asks nowadays, as they still do, "Don't you think we ought to get things right in our own country before we bother with other countries?" I can only shake my head helplessly. What is the use of getting things right in your own country when any day all your efforts can be smashed to bits? It would be more sensible to get things right in the world, first. So topsy-turvy have our times become!

But this return to the local is an interesting manifestation in the United States at the moment. It is undoubtedly discouraging to our visitors from abroad. They feel it a cold damp atmosphere in which to try to work out new ideas for the world. I can only beg them to check their discouragement by trying to analyze us and understand why Americans are burying themselves in their home towns, physically and mentally and emotionally.

It is illuminating to contrast the present postwar mood in the United States with that following the First World War. After that war the whole country swept back into isolationism. We had been perfectly happy in our own country. We saw no need for having anything to do with the world. We had got on without the world and we had become rich and comfortable. We had everything we wanted. Down went the windows and the shades and slam went the doors that we locked. True, we maintained certain relations, but mainly through business. Our business men carried on a cautious trade in some other countries. I say *in*, rather than *with*, because the trade was not with the people of the countries. We built up American business firms in other lands, as extensions of the home firms. It was not a matter of cooperation. We engaged in cartels, remaining as local in our interests as if we had stayed on Main Street. There is nothing truly international about a cartel. But we had and perhaps have a prejudice against internationalism. As early as 1877, in the railroad strikes, a leading voice of the period declared that the strikes were backed by "hoodlums, thieves and internationalists."

These G.I.'s scanning their phrase-book on a Paris street corner may "actually" not be in a foreign land at all, according to Pearl Buck—for soldiers and business men carry their own world with them wherever they go.

Then to our dismay and surprise came the Second World War. Even today our people are very vague indeed as to why it came. We feel we had little or nothing to do with it, since we thought we were staying at home minding our own business. Ask any average American why we fought in the Second World War and he will murmur something about Hitler or about Japan, depending on where his deepest prejudices lie. But he will not know how we became embroiled with either of these enemies. Pressing him will only confuse him. He will remove his cap, scratch his head, grin and say ruefully that it is all beyond him and he guesses he had better get back to his own work. He feels safer when he is at the familiar job. I shall not soon forget the taxicab driver in whose cab I chanced to be on the day of the opening of the United Nations Assembly in New York. We were held up briefly by the very modest procession, but he was impatient at being held up for even one moment at his regular work.

"Why don't they go and meet in Siberia where they belong?" he asked sourly. There was no understanding in his mind of the significance and indeed the wonder of the fact that the people on our streets were having the chance to see persons from almost all countries of the world. Not even for that moment, as the cars rolled by us with delegates from England and China and India and France, was he stirred out of his localism.

No, our mood after this last World War is not like the one we had after the first one. Then we were self-confident. We were sure that we knew the way to happiness and security if we only kept ourselves to ourselves. We saw no relation between our prosperity and that of the other peoples. We were quite content to be rich and comfortable, regardless of any one else.

The stormy between years, of course, changed us very much. We found that even with the shades down and the doors locked we could suffer in our own house. We got hungry and cold and we lost our jobs and there was no one we could blame except ourselves, because we were not having anything to do with other peoples. Today we are

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"You mean *France* makes burgundy, too?"

ashamed to say that the second war pulled us out of the hole, but among ourselves we know that it is true. The full employment of war gave us all a breathing space.

Those Robust Russians

We did not lose as many men in the war as we feared we would, and on the whole we came out of it better off than we went in. But we feel guilty about that. We don't talk of it even among ourselves except apologetically. We are rather a good people at heart. At least, we would like to be good, because our mothers have brought us up to be more comfortable that way. But we are now very confused. What shall we do to keep from having another depression and if we do have it, as our experts keep telling us we shall, then how can we avoid another war to pull ourselves out? And we don't like the idea of an atomic war, even though we have, so far as we know, all the bombs. We know now that somehow or other we are mixed up with other peoples. Our fate cannot be kept separate from the world's fate. But we are horrified and even terrified at the idea of having to concern ourselves with great hungry hordes, such as we think inhabit China and India, and we cannot even contemplate the enormous numbers of robust Russians that there are in the world. We don't know any of these people. We haven't let them into our country, beyond a very few, and we have heard very little of them. We haven't liked what we have heard.

The other day a distinguished group of Indian dancers was giving a performance in Paterson, New Jersey, to a room full of decorous club ladies, nearly all of them assets to the government in the way of taxes. They viewed the dancing with grave faces and dubious eyes, and the music disturbed them. Not for one moment did they forget that they were in Paterson, New Jersey. There was no wonder in their minds, no willingness to understand these dances which have grown out of the most ancient civilization in the world. When the performance was over one lady drew her mink coat about her—"Well, if that's India, I don't want any more of it." Yet none of the dancing was crude or savage or lascivious as one may see it in American night clubs anywhere in our country.

The mood in our country today is frankly one of localism. It is to be distinguished from isolationism. The isolationist believes his country is the best and that it needs no contact with others. He does not accept the fact of the interdependence of peoples. He believes in the dream of the ivory tower, in the rich man's mansion in the midst of slums.

But in our present withdrawal into localism there is neither confidence nor a feeling of security. We are trying to make busy work for ourselves in our home towns because we are afraid. We don't know how to face the present. The world is too much for us. We can't understand it. We are terrified when people tell us we are rich and powerful. We don't want the power, and to keep the riches, which of course we do want, we would like to stay at home and pull down the blinds again and lock the doors once more. We are anxious to establish the familiar round so that we can tell ourselves that, after all, things are settling down.

In our hearts we know they are not. We fear that a vast seething movement is taking place among the peoples of the world. We feel the heave of multitudes, as a ship upon the sea feels the swell of coming storm and hears the roar of winds black upon the horizon. The still light that shines down upon us is not the light of a common sun, but the strange light of a sky on the edge of a hurricane.

Americans Should See the World

We are today a distressed people, we Americans, and the world must understand that we are. We are frightened and our fear should explain to the strangers who stare at us in disappointment why it is that we are hostile to them, why our people refuse to take very much interest in the United Nations and their meetings, why we flee in spirit from every world idea and all largeness of world planning.

This would be a dreadful picture, were it permanent. But I look on it as transitional. Most of our people have never been away from home. For years now they have not left their country except as soldiers or as business men, which is to say they have not left it actually at all. Ham and eggs in Shanghai are the same as ham and eggs in Denver. One is not really in China unless he eats a Chinese breakfast with interest and curiosity if not with pleasure. We Americans are timid because we have never even seen the world. I recommend to the other nations a quick policy of easy travel for Americans. It would be to the interest of the world to get us out of our hometown shells. We need to see

that the world is inhabited by people who have at least as high an average rate of pleasantness and morality as our own people have. We do not believe this now. Of course the people abroad ought to have a little training and not make us unhappy by gouging us when we travel. They must be shown that it is more sensible to accumulate a fortune over years, rather than in one season. Nothing offends the American more than meddling with his pocketbook. He is accustomed to sitting on a park bench without charge, for example, and therefore it would be wise to have park benches free for all Americans anywhere, merely as a matter of good business.

We Americans have much to learn and we cannot learn it all at once without mental indigestion which will result in continuing hostility. In other words, it is somewhat the responsibility of other peoples to undertake our education, and it must be done in the same way that a timid and homesick child has to be won to like school. Therefore for a few years our prejudices must be understood and taken into consideration, and then gradually they will wear away as life and experience with other peoples teach us to enjoy them rather than to fear and therefore hate them. The behavior of many of our troops abroad was an evidence of our ignorance. They affected to despise what they did not understand, and since they did not understand any people at all, they were ill at ease almost everywhere, in the same way that a small boy, confronted with a party at which he does not know how to behave, will instinctively misbehave to show he does not care. Of course he cares horribly.

What our world neighbors must understand is that our return to localism is not because we do not care but because we do care. We wish, although we will not acknowledge it to them, and we hide it even from ourselves, that we did know the world, that we could live up to expectations, and could be sure that we are right. We bluster because if we do not, we will be overcome, not by others, but by our own fear and doubt of our adequacy. The tragedy of our times is that we Americans are not sure, with pure conviction of soul and mind, that even our democracy will work. We are pioneers in democracy, and there is a certain justification for our uncertainty. Nobody has ever had a government like ours, and there are times when we feel ashamed of the way it behaves, to a degree which makes us wonder if we have the right thing, after all. We do not breathe these doubts aloud, but they attack us in the dead of night particularly when we think of some of our southern states, or when we are made desperate by imbecile remarks coming out of Washington. We were cheerful pioneers when it meant merely going west, but this pioneering in democracy is not so simple as chopping down trees and killing grizzly bears and chasing red Indians. We take steps in the dark.

Plenty of Idealism but No Realism

We are a distressed people. One feels it everywhere. The simple and usually earnest efforts of our citizens' clubs and organizations to discuss world affairs without wanting to face them, the pathetic efforts of our millionaires to present monuments to the common people who hate big houses at any time and feel most comfortable in bungalows, the extraordinary number of organizations trying to better race relations by the research-and-report system without being willing to act differently, and, perhaps most significant of all, the preoccupation of every group with itself—all these are signs of a distressed and confused people, in whom conscience is not dead but only unwilling. Idealism is present in large amounts, but realism is nowhere.

For our localism does not only manifest itself in a return to our geographic localities, but in return to our group localities. Never before have our many divisions, in races, religions, professions, trades, been so deep as now. One might say, to put it roughly, that we have no majority at all any more. We are all broken up into minorities and nobody is thinking in anything except local terms. This is true of our national life, and in these circumstances it is impossible for us to think in world terms. It is one more evidence of our extreme confusion and self-distrust and fear.

But we can be cured. We can be cured by human experience with other peoples. As I said, travel will do much, and therefore all barriers to travel should be quickly removed. Travel should be cheap, without visas and passports, and good hotels should be dotted about the world for those who cannot take their travel neat. From these hotels authentic tours should be planned, small but increasing injections of other civilizations, so that when we come home the old porch chair will not seem quite as pleasant as it did, and Main Street will be just a little boring.

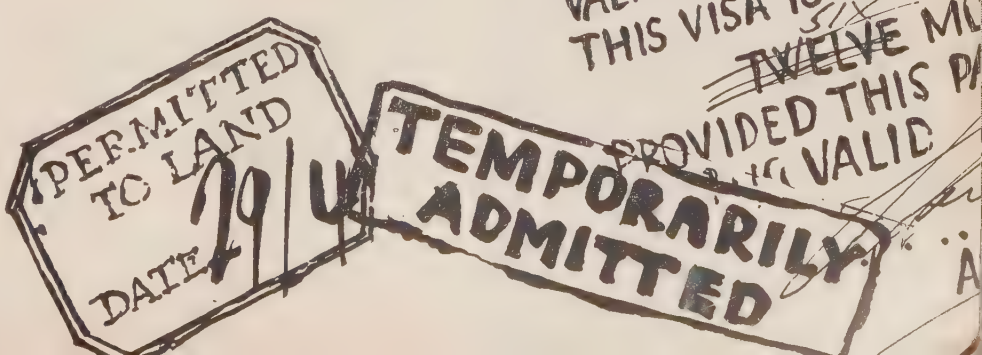
But a word to the Wise Men of the East—deal gently with us for your own sakes! Our skin is tender—do not strip us clean. We are young and easily frightened. You are old and tough.

And you of Europe—we do not easily forgive you that twice we have fought on your soil. Yes, yes, we know our responsibilities but do not remind us of them, for your own sakes. Invite us to your homes, deal with us as guests, or at least not as victims to be robbed, show us your best, explain to us your worst.

As for Russia—we beg you, cease to terrify us with communism or socialism or whatever it is you have. Do not put "un-American" ideas into the minds of our poor and of our colored citizens. Let us see for ourselves how whatever you have, works.

But do not force us to get really tough. It would be bad for everybody. Let us all remember that tourists are pleasanter than soldiers and much more profitable.

Above all, friends and enemies, give us a little time, and we may surprise you, we Americans. We may wake up one morning, our minds full of pleasant memories of your peoples, and decide that the world is a good place and the peoples worth knowing. Once we are convinced of this we may use our really sound American practical sense, and our daring American imagination. We may even put our shoulders to the wheel that makes the world go around as one.



Samples of troublesome visas needed for travel in One World!

Ruined Warsaw—stark testimony to the systematic destruction of Poland's capital by the Germans.

TWO CITIES — A CONTRAST IN WOE

BY LEO LANIA

Warsaw is the most destroyed city on the Continent, Vienna the most suffering, says Leo Lania, United Nations World correspondent who has just returned from Europe. Here he presents grim pictures of both —first Warsaw, ruined but well-fed; then Vienna, standing but hungry

EVEN the most complete work of destruction of modern warfare could not match the methodical annihilation which the Germans purposely performed in Warsaw. They were not satisfied with what their Luftwaffe had done; after the uprising of the Ghetto and after the last rebellion of the Polish underground they really went to work.

With dynamite and gasoline they levelled even the ruins. Where once stood the Ghetto—a large section of Warsaw inhabited formerly by more than 350,000 people—there is today nothing but a vast desert of rubble. Even the streets, even the landmarks, have disappeared. In comparison, the fury of the most terrible bombs seems more human, sparing accidentally, as it often does, houses and streets. But the Nazi soldiers spared nobody and nothing, and the Gestapo left nothing to accident. "It will take 50 years to rebuild Warsaw," President Boleslaw Beirut told me, explaining the plans of the special Ministry which was set up for the reconstruction of the capital. And that part of the city that once was the Ghetto will not be rebuilt at all; it would be a hopeless undertaking.

Walking through the snow-covered streets—miles and miles of ruins—I asked a Polish friend:

"Where do the people live?"

"There, and—there!"

He pointed with his outstretched hand toward what seemed to me the sky. "Don't you see the smoke coming out of that ruin over there? Look out for these little clouds of smoke, wherever you see them—there people live."

I saw a primitive ladder, steps of bricks and iron bars, leading up to a wing in one of the completely destroyed buildings. High above the ground, in what once was the fifth or sixth floor, a kind of an eagle's nest was barely discernible. "Quite a lot of smoke—there must be eight to ten people living there," my friend concluded.

Life Amid Ruins

A LARGE number of the one-half million of Warsaw's inhabitants "live" that way, in cellars or bunkers,

in holes or in undestroyed garrets. They have no electric light, no windows, no plumbing in these "apartments," only little stoves to cook their meals. And yet, they live and work. And they work hard. This mortally wounded city shows every day new signs of a strong and healthy life.

Across the river there is Praga, a sprawling suburb. It was quickly overrun by the Russians in their drive for Warsaw, and that part of the city is very little destroyed. There are sections of Warsaw, too, where the houses, though badly damaged, are still inhabitable, and where big apartment buildings or mansions, once the seat of the German military authorities, were spared.

The Polonia is the only big hotel of normal appearance. The other large one, the famous Bristol, looks like a ruin from the outside but provides accommodation for transient foreigners. The heating system does not work, the rooms are terribly cold, and there is no running water. But it is gradually being repaired. The factories in and around Warsaw are working full-blast. The trams are running again; every day a few more bus lines are put into operation.

There is no famine. As all over Europe, the black market flourishes. If you can afford to pay 1,000-1,300 zlotys for a meal ($10 to $13 at the black market rate) you get in the Europeisky or in the Polonia a dinner consisting of borsht or delicious salmon, or chicken or duck; butter is served, pastry and real coffee with whipped cream. The Europeisky is a ruin, too—only two rooms in the whole building are not destroyed. However, the food is of best peace-time quality.

But although 1,000 zlotys fetch perhaps a dollar at the black market exchange, Warsaw's citizens are not earning dollars. Even the Prime Minister does not earn more than 30,000 zloyts per month, and a factory worker between 1,500 and 4,000 zlotys. On the other hand, in this predominantly agrarian country, the poor do not need to go hungry. One sees butter and sausage, and plenty of bread and eggs on the counters of the little village inns. The general food situation is improving rapidly.

Politics—Opposing Views

There is a malicious joke making the rounds in Warsaw. "Once the Jews ran the business and the Poles the Government", it runs—"Now it is just the other way around: the Poles control business and finance, and the Jews the Government." This joke doesn't prove anything but the still strong anti-Semitic prejudices of the Poles.

In the Government there are two Jews: Hilary Minc, the Minister of Economics and head of the Planning Division, and Jacob Berman, Under-Secretary of State. Minc, a professor of economics, is a man of great theoretical knowledge with a gift for organization. Berman, "the strong man behind the Government," as he is called, impressed me during the one-hour talk I had with him as a very intelligent and forceful man.

In his middle forties, he is modest to the extent of shyness. Russian-trained, he still denies that his party is under the control or influence of the Kremlin. The fear of the Bolsheviks, the century-old distrust against anything Russian, and the passion for national independence, is so strong among all classes of the Polish people that the Communists must steer a very cautious course. They don't even dare to call themselves Communists—the Polish Workers' Party (PPR) is their official designation.

Pointing out to me the social and economic differences between Russia and Poland, and the reasons why it would not be possible to apply the collectivization methods of the Soviets to the strongly individualistic Polish farmer, Berman declared as his goal a semi-socialized system similar to the one the Czechs are now putting into operation, a combination of nationalized key industries and free enterprise. The curtailment of collective freedom, censorship and dictatorial methods used by the Government are, in Berman's opinion, the result of the chaotic situation which Poland has to master, and the "terror" of the strongly entrenched fascist underground.

Stanislaus Mikolajczyk, head of the Peasant Party and leader of the Opposition who recently roundly condemned the Government victory at the polls, declares that what the Government calls the terror "of the underground" is only the desperate resistance of anti-Communists. He stated to me that he was in agreement with most of the economic measures of the Government Communist-Socialist bloc, and its reconstruction program. But he denounced the Cabinet vigorously at the same time for its "callous disrespect of the rights and freedom of the individual."

It remains to be seen what effect the last amnesty and the promised conciliatory course of the Government will have on the Opposition and on the normalization of the political life in Poland. In the economic sphere, the progress is indisputable. Coal production has jumped to 47 million tons, against 35 million the year before, while two-thirds of the former German farms in the West have been settled. The completely destroyed ports of Stettin and Danzig have been rebuilt and are in operation. In 1938, Poland built 28 locomotives; in 1946, 151; in 1949 they hope to reach an output of 300 locomotives. Six million people have been resettled or repatriated, one of the biggest migrations in history, and it was successfully concluded. Next year, Poland will be self-supporting as far as food goes, and able to export foodstuffs two years from now.

The social changes are reflected in the general improvement in the situation of the Jews (about 90,000 remnants of the former 3½ million who lived here. These people, who barely a year ago feared for their lives and all of whom tried to escape at once, declare today that they have never found in the past so much sympathy

Vienna: unlike Warsaw its buildings are mostly intact although the city is scarred.

President Bierut of Poland

and protection on the part of their Government. They are still afraid of the inherent anti-Semitism of the Polish population. Haunted by their terrible memories, many want to emigrate, mostly to Palestine. A strong cooperative movement has sprung up which is being helped and financed by the American Joint Distribution Committee.

VIENNA

In comparison to Warsaw, Vienna seems unharmed, but the misery is worse. The city of music and laughter is starving.

The Ring, this famous boulevard, with its beautiful baroque palaces and elegant hotels, has kept its air of nobility, yet many of the old palaces are window-less and quite a few are damaged. The Kaertnerstrasse, in the heart of the city, is even a more pitiful sight. There are no ruins in the Warsaw sense, but most houses are burned out; the famous shops which once displayed the finest products of Vienna's handicraft are gone. Like blind men, the houses looked at me accusingly and hopelessly, shivering in the cold.

The opera is the worst-damaged of Vienna's landmarks. High barricades screen it. It is hoped to have the building repaired in a couple of months. The dome of St. Stephen's was hit by a bomb. The roof is partially gone, but the spires and the magnificent facade, with its wonderfully carved statues, are intact.

As in Germany, in this "free and independent Austria," too, the occupation forces and foreigners live completely apart from the native population. They have their own hotels and messes, their own nightclubs and bars. There are no restaurants; people eat at home or in communal kitchens set up in factories or office buildings. The famous coffee houses which have always played an essential part in Vienna's life, since they were not merely eating places but also unofficial club and social centers, are unheated. They serve nothing but a kind of ersatz coffee—and they close at 9:00 p.m. An additional hardship for the Viennese is that he has no coal to heat his apartment. The only warm and lighted bars and coffee houses are "out of bounds" for him.

Theater concerts, cinemas and, for youth, a Saturday dance are the highlights of the life of a Viennese, and give it the only touch of color. He escapes into the past. The theaters are all playing the same plays and operettas that were produced 20 years ago.

Dangers After Dark

But after 9 p.m. it's dangerous to be out in Vienna. Nearly every day the Viennese papers carry the same story: a group of 2 or 3 "men in uniform, speaking a foreign language" attacked a passer-by or stopped a tram and robbed the passengers. It is not money they are after, but clothing. Again and again men have reached their apartments stark naked.

Who are the bandits? Deserters, soldiers who want to shed their uniforms, displaced persons, former slave laborers? No details are given in the press.

This coldest winter in many decades was worse than anything Vienna has experienced in the past—worse even than 1945-46. To hunger and cold has been added disappointment, frustration and hopelessness.

The Viennese population depends on gas for cooking. Gas is available only from 6 to 8 in the morning, and it is of such a poor quality that it takes nearly an hour to make a pot of water boil.

The week I was in Vienna, the people got the following food items on their weekly ration cards: 9 oz. of flour, 7 oz. of beef (an improvement, as I was told, the week before they got only 2 oz. of horse meat), 2 oz. of potato flour, 3 oz. of lard, and ½ a lb. of sour beets. That was all for a whole week. This food represented an average of 1,400 calories per day.

Naturally, there is a black market. You sell what you have—clothing or jewelry, antique furniture or linen—and you can buy a pound of flour for 12 schillings instead of the 76 groshen it costs officially.

Yet, who has dollars? Only a relatively small group of tough profiteers whom the sternest regulations and all the efforts of the American military authorities cannot subdue. The American Army pays now in "script", which can be exchanged only in the PX's by American personnel. The control is very strict, and yet even script is now on the market—quoted at $1 script to 40 sch. Sad as it is, there must be quite a number of American soldiers who cooperate with the black market profiteers and act as their fence. They are not contributing towards strengthening the respect of the Viennese for the United States.

The Russians

The Viennese grumbles and complains about the burden of American and British occupations, but it is the Russian he really fears and hates. And in spite of all the hardships, he would rather accept many more years of American rule than our departure without the guarantee that the Russians would leave, too. The discipline of the Russian Army has very much improved, but for the Viennese there is still the very vivid memory of the wild and terrible days the people had to live through during the first few months of Russian rule.

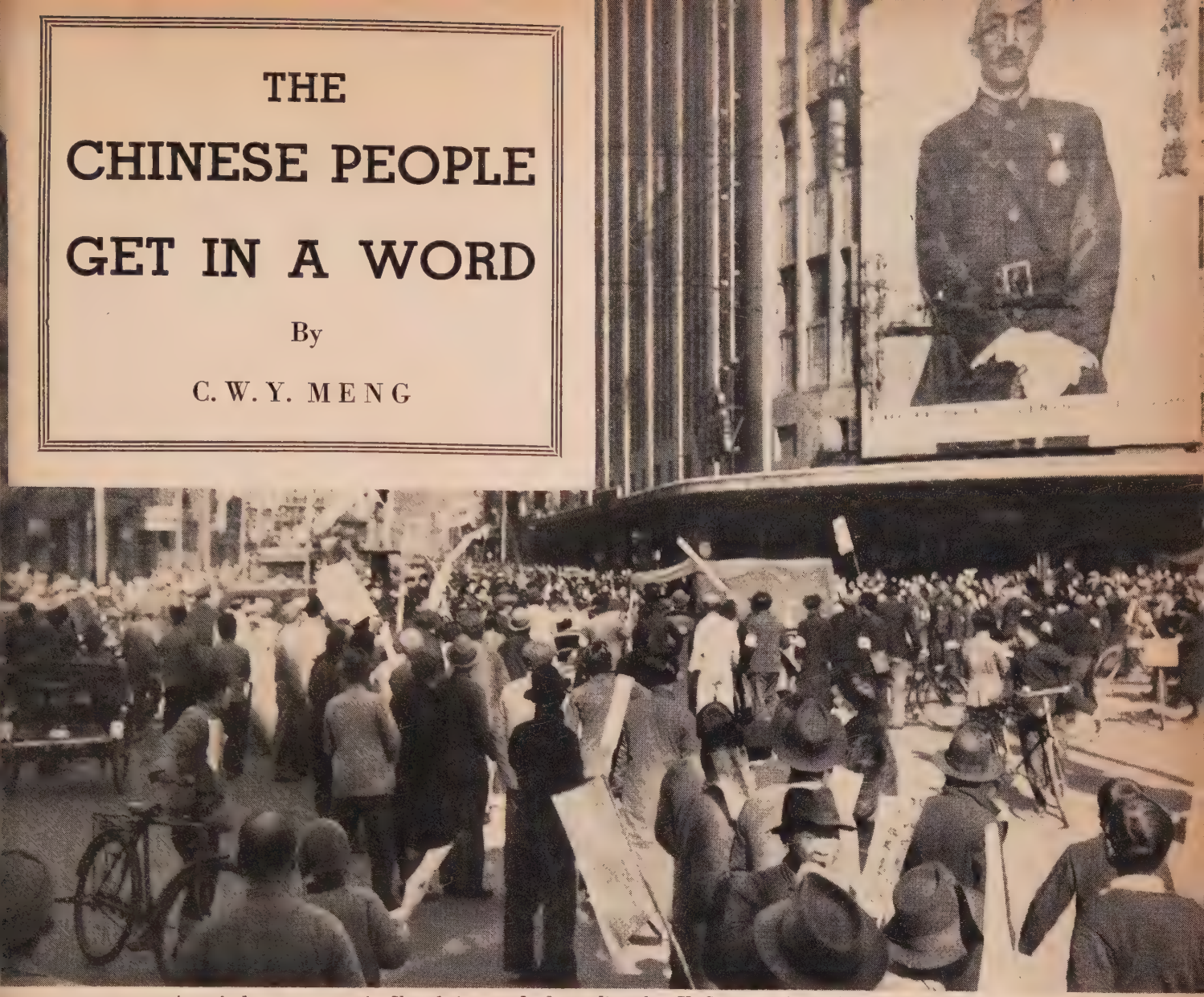
Are the Viennese still Nazi-minded? Everyone complains about the failure of the de-Nazification program. On the one hand you are told that the real Nazis have not been punished; on the other hand you are assured that the Nazis who have been put in prison were not Nazis at all. There is a joke making the rounds: "What is the difference between a German and an Austrian?" The German says, "I have never been a Nazi." The Austrian says, "I have never been a Nazi, but my neighbor Pichler or Mayer has."

No doubt that there is still quite a number of Nazis or Nazi sympathizers at large. Many of them have infiltrated into the conservative People's Party. Others bought for themselves protection by joining the Communists, who, incidentally, in spite of all their efforts, have not made any headway in Austria. The Social Democrats, the classical party of Austria's workers, is gaining and strengthening its position in spite of all the difficulties and handicaps. Their *Arbeiterzeitung* has now a daily circulation of 220,000. They could easily sell 500,000 copies if they could get enough newsprint.

THE CHINESE PEOPLE GET IN A WORD

By

C. W. Y. MENG



A typical recent scene in Shanghai—crowds demanding that U. S. troops be withdrawn from China.

China has two dissonant main voices—those of the Nationalists and Communists. But what of that little man, the plain Chinese citizen? Here one of them, from Shanghai, analyses some rare Chinese "Gallup polls" and courageously suggests the remedies for China's ills

ALTHOUGH China's civil war may last much longer, and both Nationalists and Communists may fight with full vigor, the decisive battle will not be fought on the battlefield. Force alone will not avail nor can the many high-handed measures of suppression accomplish much. In this struggle, the capture of one strategic city today and another tomorrow is not of so much importance as the capture of man's mind and imagination. The side which gains the support of public opinion is sure to emerge victorious in the end.

And the trend of public opinion in China has recently been made abundantly clear by two surveys which may well be regarded as a "Chinese Gallup poll."

Wen Wai Pao, a leading liberal paper in Shanghai, was probably the first Chinese daily ever to undertake such a survey. In February of this year, *Ta Kung Pao*, another leading independent paper in China, conducted a similar survey. In both, most important and timely questions were asked, and answers came from all walks of life and from various parts of the country, including remote Kansu, China's "Island Province" of Taiwan (Formosa), and Hong Kong.

The Two Surveys

IN the first survey, as announced by *Wen Wai Pao* in its issue of October 23, 1946, two principal questions were asked, with the following results:

Out of 18,907 answers, 18,716 or

e Author: C. Y. W. Meng, or Meng Chang-, as his name reads in Chinese, has been quent contributor to U. S. magazines inter- in the Far East. A resident of Shanghai, he for many years one of the contributing edi- of Shanghai's *China Weekly Review*, of which the late J. B. Powell was editor and publisher. Rather stiff little notes sometimes accompany Meng's articles, but the MSS themselves, usually very long and dull-looking, typed single-space with no margins on thin air-mail paper, often cause excitement in editorial offices. For they invariably contain a bit of dynamite. A fea less writer, Meng ranks as one of the few ou standing spokesmen for the millions of inartic late, middle-of-the-road Chinese without polit cal power in China today. He is a journalist wit a deep understanding of the people's problem

Chou En-lai, top spokesman for the Chinese Communists

99%, demanded the immediate withdrawal of American marines from China. Only 95, or less than ½ of 1%, agreed to "let the GI's stay, the more the better." Another 96 had "no opinion."

As for the civil war, 18,597, or 98.4% demanded that "both parties lay down their arms and cease fire, immediately and unconditionally."

A more detailed survey was conducted by *Ta Kung Pao*, and the results were announced in its issue of February 10, 1947.

As in the first survey, a question on GI's in China headed the list. Out of some 600 answers, 538, or 89.7%, oppose their presence chiefly because it "will help to prolong our civil war," but also because it was considered "inimical to the dignity of an independent state." Twenty explained: "We are opposed to all foreign troops in China."

The next question was: "Do you agree with the present policy in China?" To this proposition, 464, or 77.3%, were opposed, while only 61, or barely 10%, agreed and 59 had "no opinion." Those who agreed mostly based their reasons on Lend-Lease and UNRRA.

As for the question: "Do you agree that the civil war should go on, or do you oppose it," 535 or 89%, were opposed, while only 34 were in favor of the war and 17 had "no opinion." To the query: "Who do you hope will be our mediator?" 405, or 67½%, subscribed to the answer: "We must settle the dispute by ourselves." Only 57, or 9½%, hoped for American-Soviet mediation, 15 for American-Soviet-British mediation, and seven for UN mediation. Among the foreign mediators most welcomed were Henry A. Wallace and V. Molotov. Strange to relate, General Marshall received only one vote.

The answers, together with explanatory comment, clearly show that the Chinese hope to end the war through "bringing strong pressure from the common people to bear upon the two contending parties to come to an amicable settlement." Failing this, they hope for a direct conference between Kuomintang and Communist leaders. Only failing both would they appeal for foreign mediation.

Who Should Lead China?

"WHO should be the President of the Chinese Republic?" was *Ta Kung Pao's* next question. Leading candidates were Chiang Kai-shek, 229 votes; Mao Tse-tung, top Communist leader, 46; Madame Sun Yat-sen, 27; Sun Fo, son of Sun Yat-sen and outstanding liberal, 23.

Next came: "Who should be President of the Executive Yuan?" The chief choices were: Chou En-lai, another Communist leader, 123 votes; Chang Chuan, Governor of Szechuan Province, 76; Mao Tse-tung, 64; Sun Fo, 36; Sao Li-tze, Gen. Chang. Chichung and Huang Yen-pei, 17 each.

Then: "Who should be the President of the Legislative Yuan?" The verdicts: Sun Fo, 124 votes; Carson Chang, leader of the Young China Party, 77; Mao Tse-tung, 72; Chou En-lai, 28.

According to these results, the line-up of a "coalition government" would be: President, Chiang Kai-shek; President of Executive Yuan, Chou En-lai; President of Legislative Yuan, Sun Fo.

Now came the most embarrassing question facing the Chinese nation today: "Do you support the Constitution adopted by the recent National Assembly and by the recent National Government on January 1, 1947?" To this, 381 answered "No"; 124, "Yes"; and 81 had "no opinion."

The opposition to the January Constitution may be summed up as follows: "This Constitution is formulated under the manipulation of one party"..."This Constitution is the cause of our split" . . . "It is contrary to the agreement reached at the Political Consultative Conference." These answers, as pointed out by *Ta Kung Pao*, clearly show that there is little sympathy among the people for the "old" delegates of the National Assembly elected more than ten years ago, and that consequently anything that was adopted by the Assembly is not agreeable to the people. If a plebiscite on the Constitution were held now, there is no doubt it would be vetoed by the people. Half of those who supported it indicated that their chief reason for doing so was that it would be too much trouble to formulate another new constitution.

Turning to "What do you love most?" and "What do you hate most?", the result was as follows: love most, "warriors of democracy,"120 votes; "peaceful living," 71 votes; hate most: civil war, 98; dictatorship, 78; corruption, 75; special service men, 61; and extremists, 43.

Significance of the Polls

ALTHOUGH these two surveys were conducted only on a very small scale, the result explains what is wrong with China today far more explicitly than many pages of analysis and gives a strong hint as to the way out.

Anyone who has studied these two surveys, together with the popular demands constantly being expressed by editors, students, minority parties and the like, will quickly reach certain conclusions. *First*, there is indeed a nationwide opposition to the civil war, and a very strong demand for the immediate and unconditional cessation of fire by both sides. *Second*, there is also a strong demand for the early enforcement of the resolutions adopted by the Political Consultative Conference and the fulfillment of Chiang Kai-shek's "Four Promises" as the basis for settlement of the dispute. *Third*, there is great disapproval of the present United States policy in China, while at the same time there is a strong demand for an independent Chinese foreign policy. *Fourth*, there is every evidence that, underneath the present internal strife, a bitter struggle for political freedom and economic equality is being waged by the common people in China against the privileged classes, who are clinging to their vested rights.

Need for Sweeping Changes

CHINA today is perhaps in the same state as Great Britain was on the eve of the general election in 1945, when by far the great majority of the British people were most eager for change, reform and betterment. Yet the party in power failed to show any awareness of the situation, and the re-

sult was Labor's surprising victory.

During its past 20 years in power, the Kuomintang did not introduce a single "sweeping change" and its record of administration throughout this long period was very poor. In the recently promulgated postwar "Five-Year Industrial Plan," for example, the Kuomintang government proposes no far-reaching changes, such as nationalization of banks, industries and land, and no provisions for social security for the common people. If there were to be a true election in China today, there is not the slightest doubt that countless millions would vote for "sweeping changes." But unfortunately there has been no election in China, and no plebiscite to decide any of the pressing national problems. Instead there is a civil war.

Not only that, but there is every evidence of the prevalence of a rampant malignity toward liberalism. Reactionaries, special service men and gangsters are constantly threatening and endangering the lives and activities of Chinese liberals. In one meeting called for the so-called "Celebration of the Constitution" in Hankow on January 1, one Chinese reporter was beaten simply because he did not raise his hands and shout, "Hail to the Success of Our Constitutional Achievement!" In Shanghai, one man was fatally wounded and more than 20 people were injured on February 9 when a gang of 300 "rascals" beat up some 500 employees of the local department stores who had gathered at the National Industries Bank to listen to talks by prominent speakers on "Preferential Use of Our National Products." Moreover, there is a clandestine and deliberate attempt to cause a split among student bodies and Chinese editors and among the minority parties. As a result, in some leading intermediary schools and universities, teachers and students are divided into two opposing camps, while in others, liberal presidents and professors have been replaced or dismissed under various pretexts. China is consequently suffering most tragically from the lack of constructive leadership, and the plight of the common people in China is deplorable beyond description.

A Seven-Point Program for Chiang

THEREFORE, basing my conclusions on the two surveys of Chinese public opinion and on a close study of many popular demands, I venture to advance a seven-point program for President Chiang during the present crisis. This program is as follows:

1. Take strong measures to put under control all "civil war heroes" and other jingoist militarists within the ranks of the Nationalist army, as well as extremists and reactionaries within the Kuomintang.

2. Introduce sweeping changes and reforms in government administration and policy; wipe out corruption and inefficiency; and enforce an Anti-Corruption Law, with capital punishment for all corrupt and greedy officials.

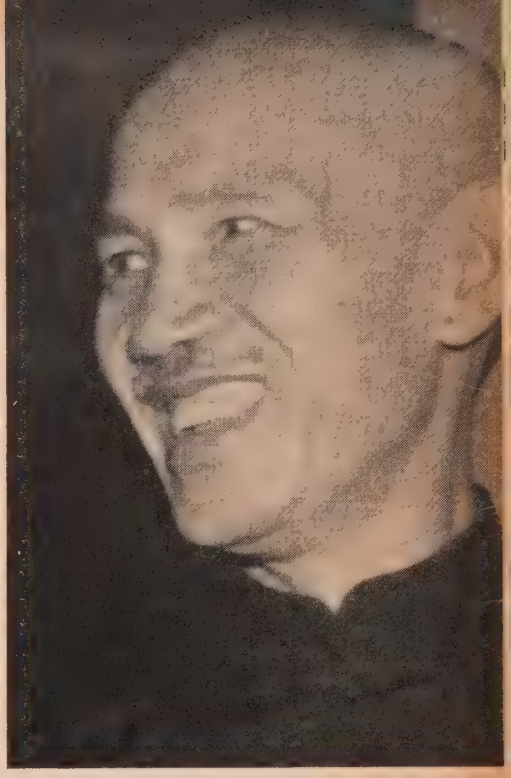
3. Appoint only just and able men to important posts, irrespective of their party affiliations, while removing those who are opposed by the local inhabitants (for examples, Gen. Yen Shih-san in Shensi, Gen. Liu Wen-hui in Sikang and Gen. Yi in Taiwan). At the same time, staff the whole administration with men who will serve their country honestly, men who believe in their century, and with moderate social reformers and real workers.

4. Cherish the current development of public opinion in China, and nourish its growth.

5. Lead the people to love and appreciate democracy not only in politics but in all daily life. Set a personal example through a democratic way of life, receptive to public criticism and in tune with public sentiment.

6. Encourage the people to speak out, and welcome common people, non-partisans and liberals as arbiters of internal problems.

7. Bring to an end the split among the Chinese people over GI's in China and the U.S. China policy. Adopt a Chinese foreign policy and make a solemn and historic declaration, like the American Monroe Doctrine, stating that China does not intend to interfere in the affairs of other countries, but at the same time will brook no interference from others. All foreign troops and gunboats—be they American, Soviet or others—must leave China. Foreign concessions and "joint ownership" of any national railway will not be tolerated. China stands absolutely for international justice and for oppressed and subject peoples, and China seeks only international cooperation to build up a free society of nations in which there will be no colony and no subject people.



President Chiang Kai-shek in an expansive mood

These seven points might well constitute a "must" program for President Chiang. In advocating such a program, I do not mean to imply that the Chinese Communists are not to be blamed. No. What I do mean is that, with this program in full swing, the National Government would be in a far better position to negotiate with the Communists, and civil strife might be ended at a much earlier date when the Government has the support of public opinion.

An Appeal to "Third Parties"

MEANTIME it is of the utmost importance for the Chinese people to continue mobilizing public opinion in opposition to the civil war. Many of the minor or "Third Parties" should quickly entrench themselves far more solidly to fight for the welfare of the people, but without greed for government positions, even that of minister.

Strenuous efforts should be made to bring about a second Chiang Kai-shek-Mao Tse-tung conference, to be participated in this time by representatives of all other parties, people's organizations, professors and student unions and other nonpartisans and leaders in the industrial and commercial realms. Let the people and public opinion decide the dispute. Let the majority rule.

Foreign mediation is not wanted in China. But constructive leadership—above all partisan considerations—and constructive efforts are urgently needed if China is to have peace and be one of the Big Five in name as well as in fact.

THE MOST IMPORTANT SINGLE JOB IN THE WORLD

BY WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS
Associate Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court

THERE is much pessimism in the air. Many people view as a dim hope the chance of democracy's survival in the world. I do not think that defeatist attitude is warranted. It is not the mission of this generation to witness an inquest on a free society. The years ahead can, indeed, witness the birth of a great commonwealth of justice—a one world that is dominantly a democratic world.

There is, to be sure, great uneasiness in the world. Millions of people, long held in subjugation or enslaved by poverty, illiteracy, and misgovernment, are stirring. The dream of a better life, the hope of freedom, the hunger for justice move them. The statements of our aims in war and peace, the vision of the new world which has opened to them as a result of the movement of armies and navies, fire their imaginations and call them to action. Ideas of justice have taken root even in the wastelands of the world, where war, disease and hunger have taken their toll. The common people of the world want food and material things; but they also want to live in freedom, in decency, in dignity.

The Working Tools of Democracy

THE translation of their hopes into programs means political action. Political action, if it is in the democratic not the totalitarian tradition, means an informed electorate. An informed electorate means literacy, a free press, free speech, and all the other working tools of a democratic society.

We are apt to take those conditions for granted. Yet three-fourths of the people of the world could not read the Atlantic Charter or a Declaration of Independence, even if it were written in their own language. In that environment there is little need for supervised elections, let along voting booths.

James Yen has not only seen the im-

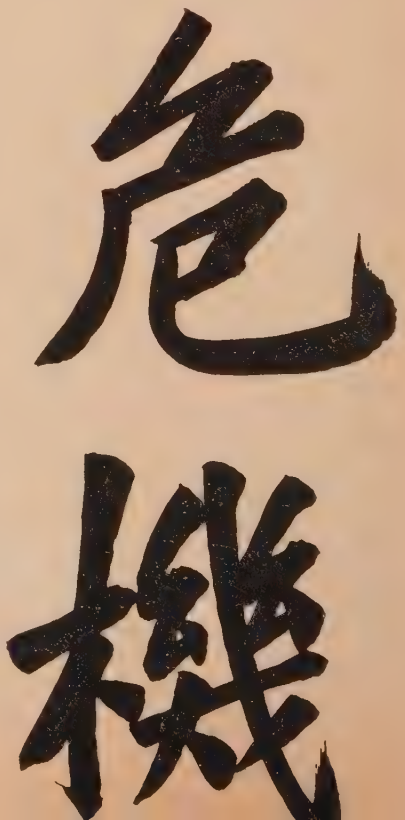
James Yen, the subject of this article, was born in the province of Szechuan, China, nearly fifty years ago, of an old and cultured scholar family. Since he happened to live in modern times, he was not only given a classical education of the highest sort, but also attended an American university for several years. Before he went home, the First World War broke out, and Yen accepted a job in France to look after the thousands of Chinese coolies who were sent there as a labor corps.

It was the young aristocrat's first contact with the common folk of his own country. These working men could not read and write, and part of his duty was to write letters home for them and to read the letters that came back. So he came to know and respect the men and to feel deeply the injustice which had denied them an education. He set down the 1,000 Chinese characters for the words most used by the men—in effect a sort of basic Chinese—and began to hold night classes for them. Their gratitude so touched him that he determined to devote the rest of his life to education for those with no opportunity for learning.

Thus was born Yen's and China's famous Mass Education Movement. Technique was worked out slowly. Through mass-meetings and parades and house-to-house recruiting of illiterates, through early morning and evening classes, through the use of hundreds of volunteers teaching an hour a day without pay and of "guiding students" serving as assistant teachers, it was possible to teach whole communities to read in four months' time. But after they could recognize the 1,000 characters, what was there for them to read? Yen found that he must supply all the reading matter. And he himself had first to learn what would really interest the common people.

Therefore he moved to Tinghsien, a typical village area in North China. There over a period of years, studying and teaching and drawing others around him, he worked out a sound technique which covered far more than literacy. It included public health, improved agriculture and marketing, and good government. In time Yen's movement reached millions of Chinese. The core of the whole movement is the "Fellow-Scholar Association" into which those who have received their diplomas as "Literate Citizens" in his People's Schools organize themselves with a two-fold purpose to continue to learn, and to band together to reconstruct the community.

Today the technique is ready for application anywhere in the world. Mexico, Cuba and other countries have already turned to James Yen for aid and inspiration. Three-fourths of the world's people are in need of education, public health, better living, better government. It is a significant fact that at this moment, when we are beginning for the first time in history to think of the world as a whole, there should be a man from China who is ready to work for the world as a whole.



The top Chinese character means *danger*; the one below stands for *opportunity*. Together they mean *crisis*.

plications of this condition for his own people; he is doing something about it. He knows that time is short; that China cannot wait until a public school system is established. The immediate need is for adult education, i.e., mass education.

His program involves teaching people how to read and write. But it involves more than that.

Yen's Program—A Broad Concept

IT INVOLVES giving them knowledge and training which will improve their lot, rid them of superstitions. It is a program which will harness their rivers, increase their production, multiply their industries, exploit their resources and introduce scientific agriculture. It will raise their standards of living and increase their annual income.

Its public health phase teaches sanitation, vaccination, first aid and other techniques of avoiding or combatting epidemics, pestilences and disease.

It also teaches government—the requirements of good government, the responsibilities of citizenship, training for the public service.

In the College of Rural Reconstruction in Tinghsien, a district of North China, teachers are taught and then sent into the villages and rice fields to put their teachings into practice.

With the People's Press—shortly to be installed—news, agricultural bulletins, scientific material, democratic literature will flow out to the people.

With the People's Films, demonstrations on all phases of the program will be shown in the villages and cities. The use of this visual aid will speed up the training and educational program of the masses. It will also produce films on culture and promotion of international understanding.

A political leader of England recently said that the question whether the one world that is coming is to be a communistic world or a democratic world depends on the relationship of the democracies to the backward peoples of the world.

James Yen, founder of the Mass Education Movement in China

Missionaries of Democracy

DR. YEN is an educator not a politician. But he has evolved a program which makes the establishment of such a working relationship both practical and immediately possible. His program was worked out by trial and error in China during the eight years preceding Japan's invasion. But it is adaptable to all peoples, including some of our own. And it is a pro-democratic program. For its aim is not only economic freedom but political democracy.

During the war we were fighting against an idea—the idea of fascism. But we cannot win the peace by defensive tactics alone. We must act affirmatively.

Dr. Yen has given us the basis of a positive democratic program. We cannot export democracy. For it is a way of life, a habit, a tradition. Hence it cannot be acquired by purchase or gift.

But we can become teachers (missionaries if you please) of the democratic faith. If we make that our course, the chances of our one world becoming a democratic world are great indeed.

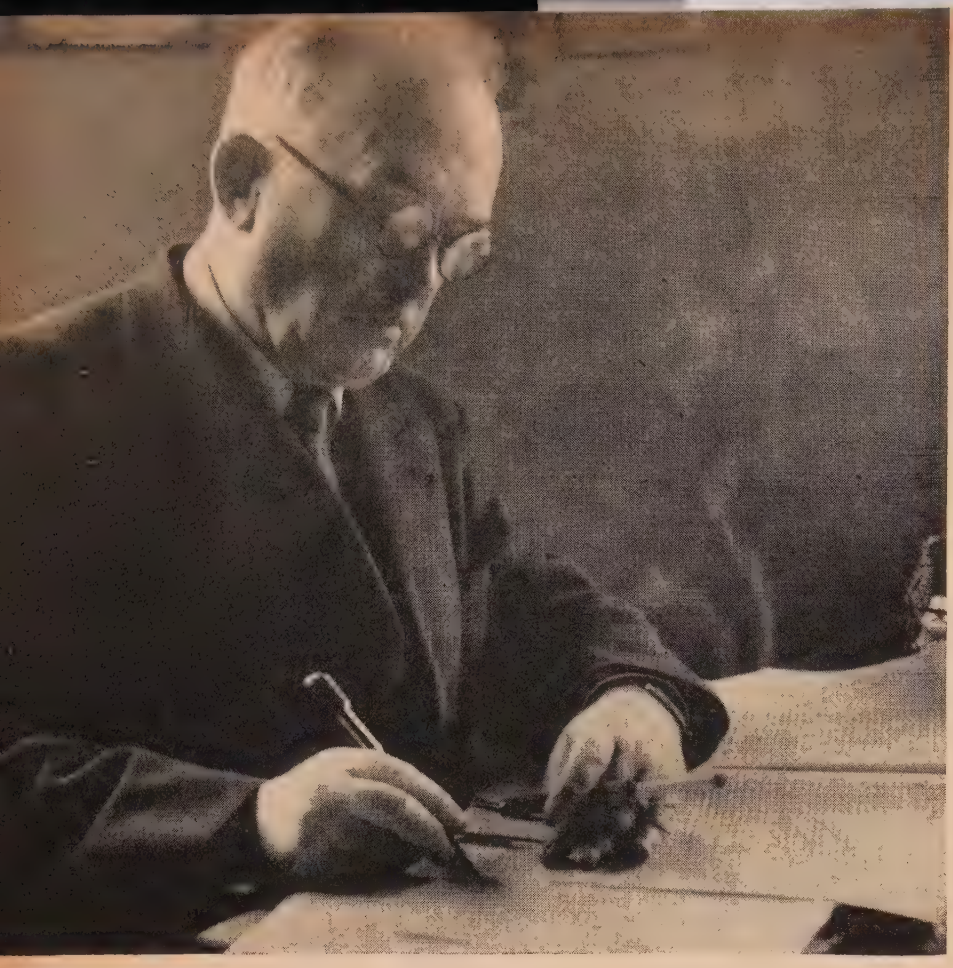
The Ingredients of "Crisis"

THE Chinese character which means *crisis* is a combination of two other characters. One means *danger;* the other *opportunity*. Dr. Yen has shown us how to capitalize on the great *opportunity* offered the democracies in the present world crisis.

His program is in its infancy. It is barely under way and results are as yet hardly noticeable. But the idea is great—and its implications are tremendous. If Dr. Yen succeeds, liberty and freedom will have hundreds of millions of new allies in Asia.

From democracy's point of view there could be no greater political victory.

The Author: One of the outstanding Americans and jurists of our day, Justice William O. Douglas of the U. S. Supreme Court, is known for his ever-deepening concept of the relations of law to human needs. His ambition was always to be a lawyer. Despairing of ever saving enough for his law course, he quit his job as a high school teacher in Yakima, Washington, back in 1922, tended a trainload of cattle as far east as Chicago and turned up in New York with about 12 cents, a disreputable-looking candidate for the Columbia Law School. By 1927 he had his degree in law and two fertile years of experience in corporation finance with a Wall Street law firm. Wall Street was then booming. But Douglas had been deeply influenced by such books as Veblen's *Absentee Ownership* and Brandeis' *Other People's Money*, and his reactions to his Wall Street experience were to mature years later, during the depression, in his impressive work for the Security and Exchange Commission. Before that he had taught at Columbia and Yale. President Hutchins, of Chicago University, called him "the outstanding professor of law in the nation." Increasingly he was drawn into public service, until in 1939 Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him to the Supreme Court, where he ranks as one of the leading liberals. For relaxation, Douglas reads biographies of "great and little people" from all over the world.



In the diary notes below, published for the first time in the United States, President Auriol relates the story of his imprisonment during the painful convulsions of the Third Republic under the Vichy regime. These notes are part of his brilliant book Yesterday—Tomorrow, *in which he reflects on the causes of the French defeat and the weakening of the Republic, and outlines the prerequisites for a new and strong France in a peaceful and democratic world.*

MY PRISONS

BY VINCENT AURIOL
President of the French Republic

THE sheet* of the Carbuccias, Beraud and company was asking for the arrest of a certain number of political figures. Daladier, Mandel and Paul Reynaud had just been arrested. I went to see Léon Blum on September 1, 1940, and said:

"Let us prepare our valises. It will soon be your turn and then mine and then that of others . . ."

"Oh, Vincent," said he, astonished, "why?"

"Why not? Laval and his accomplices hate you. They need scapegoats . . . and the *Gringoire* is demanding it. It has published the first list of suspects. Here it is."

To please me Léon Blum consented to examine with me this eventuality and to plan how and through which lawyer we could correspond freely. However, he refused to leave for London as Renée Blum and myself had been advising him to do in the interest of the country.

"No," said he. "I shall remain no matter what. I must face the accusers and, if it should become necessary, defend the Republic and socialism."

Ten days later he was interned at Bourrasol. On Sept. 25 I was conducted under heavy guard—15 policemen!—to Pellevoisin, where I was preceded by my courageous friend Marx Dormoy, former Minister of the Interior.

Liberté! Liberté cherie!

HERE I am in a cell seven feet by nine, poorly lighted by a window with a double row of iron bars. Solitary confinement. No communication with fellow prisoners permitted. Only one visit a week allowed, that of my wife in the presence of a police inspector. A brief 15-minute walk in the morning and another in the evening in a little courtyard surrounded by barbed wire, and guarded by four gendarmes with fixed bayonets and by two policemen. No sanitary facilities. Army rations. Letters accepted in open envelopes and first transmitted to the Ministry of the Interior.

Such is the "administrative regime" at Pellevoisin!

Why are we here? The internment decree bears only the following words: "Individual dangerous to public security and to National Defense."

It's a *lettre de cachet*. . . .

For ten days we haven't received a single letter. Newspapers do not reach us. We are told we must prepare a list of those we want to read and obtain permission to receive them. A police inspector loaned me a book: *Pamphlets* by Paul-Louis Courier. A sense of humor and good taste. I am reading the letters of the famous polemicist to the editor of the *Censeur*. The fifth has a captivating smell of timeliness. Here is a passage:

"Veretz, the 18 of October, 1819.

"Accidentally I have laid my hand on a letter sent by a King's attorney to a commandant of gendarmes. Here is the copy minus the names which I

* *Gringoire*—a rabidly pro-fascist Parisian weekly.

have deleted:

" 'M. le Commandant, arrest and put into prison so and so residing at such and such a place . . .'

"That's the whole letter. I think that if you print it in the *Censeur* it will be appreciated. The public is interested in such correspondence but usually knows only the result. This is brief and concise. It is the imperial style, enemy of length and explanations . . .

" 'Put into prison . . .'

"That says everything. One does not add: 'For such is our good pleasure,' for that would entail accounting for the reason, and explain a motive, but in the imperial style one does not have to give reasons for anything. As far as I'm concerned, I am charmed with this little piece . . .

"It doesn't bring to one's mind the jurist, the man of law. One cannot discern in it anything of the slow and weighty formalities of justice with which Cardinal de Retz reproached the Judiciary with so much reason, and which enraged him as often as he himself recounted it. He wouldn't complain now. Everything has changed even beyond what he could have wished at that time . . ."

I, also, am charmed with "this little piece."

An Anecdote About Pétain

AT LAST we have been permitted to receive the newspapers.

Can it be that Pétain has a sense of humor?

The press relates that when, on the occasion of a holiday, children sang the *Marseillaise,* the Marshal had requested his "favorite stanza." The newspaper has reprinted it:

That sacred love, the love of country,
Spurs on afresh our eager arms!
And for conquest and for freedom,
We dare the vast alarms!

That evening, when the doors opened a crack to let in food, one could hear these beloved words sung in the cells. The next morning the clippings from the paper were pinned on the walls.

On December 14, the young policeman who brings in the evening meal announces to me that soon three "new inmates" will arrive . . . "These are very important figures," he adds. "They are from the other side of the barricade . . ."

Montel, whose room is located above the office of the Director and whose hearing is very good, has overheard a telephone conversation. He passes on to us through our "servant" a scrap of paper on which he wrote: "Laval, Déat, de Brinon . . ." On the day after, still another one arrives who was not expected. He's an ill-defined secretary of Déat, of Russian origin, toward whom Abetz didn't deign to display any interest. We learn about the incidents which brought about the arrest of Laval, his downfall as the inheritor of the throne, the intervention of Abetz in his favor, and the promotion of Admiral Darlan.

A Wire to Péyrouton

ON CHRISTMAS DAY, we are allowed to congregate. It seems that the government is resisting Hitler's pressure. Could it be that the Marshal is going to stiffen?

Our decision is made. In our name, Dormoy transmits to the prison Director a telegram in which he informs the Minister of the Interior, Péyrouton, that should the government resist the enemy, we shall be at their sides and shall make an appeal to the working class in order to have a united France face Germany. At the same time Dormoy telegraphs Alexandre Varenne summoning him to come to see us at once. This has but one result: The Minister of the Interior reprimands the prison Director severely for having allowed this last telegram to be sent out without its having been first examined by the services of the Surété Nationale at Vichy.

But on the afternoon of December 31 the police inspectors transmit to us the order to prepare our valises. They say to us confidentially: "We are going to be routed toward the South. The Government doesn't want to give in. The Germans are occupying all of France. The Marshal and his suite will establish themselves in Algeria. We will be taken to Marseilles. From there we are going to take the boat." Such is the news brought by our *surveillants.*

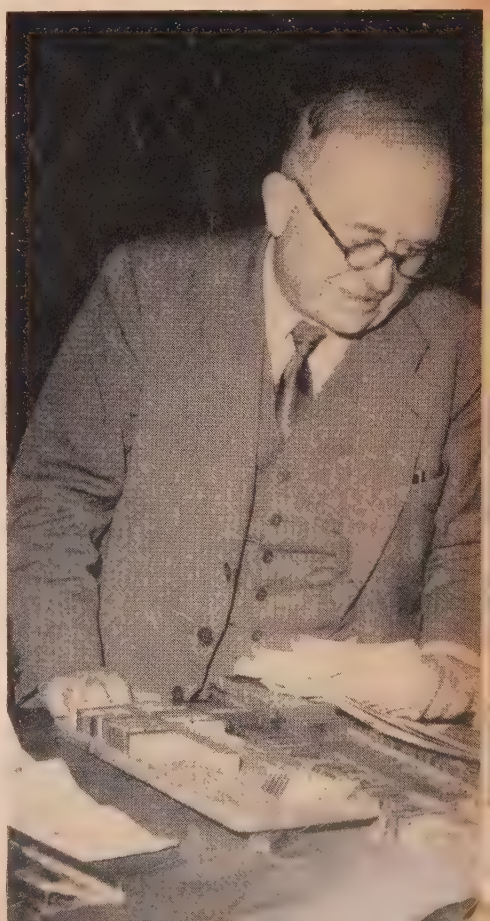
Hope!—Then a New Prison

AT midnight the cavalcade begins. Two large trucks head the convoy; in each are 20 *guardes mobiles* armed with sub-machine guns. The cars of the police chiefs come next, followed by the cars of the prisoners: two in each car accompanied by two police inspectors. Finally, closing the march, come two trucks and 40 other *gendarmes,* also armed with sub-machine guns. On the sides, police inspectors on motorcycles form the escort. Before starting, the police director gathered us and made us make "an honor pledge not to escape." Another man with a sense of humor . . .

On the night of December 31, on the day of January 1 our convoy is traveling across France in the snow and in the cold. Both Dormoy and myself, inseparable companions, are full of hopes.

After having arrived at Aubenas the midnight of January 1 we learn that Pétain has given in and that the Vichy rule continues. The police are immediately looking for a building in which to install our prison. Eight days later the small spa city of Vals-les-Bains, modest rival of Vichy, is ready to receive us. "Cures for liver and stomach patients, etc. . . ." we read on big posters. As in Vichy! "The National Revolution" is indeed the regime of "*régimes.*"*

*Translators' note: The French word *régime* has two meanings: *régime* and *cure.*



As founder and former editor-in-chief of *La Midi Socialiste* —Auriol at the printing plant

e Author: Vincent Auriol, 63-year-old first dent of the Fourth French Republic, has active as a Socialist leader since shortly his graduation from the University of Tou- . A lawyer by day, he devoted evenings in arly days to political gatherings and the ng of *La Midi Socialiste.* In 1914 he entered ament from his native Haute-Garonne, where amily had been farmers for over a century. inance Commission member or Cabinet Min- ister, he took part in negotiations on the Dawes Plan, reparations, the Hoover debt moratorium, and the stabilization of the franc. After his internment during part of the war, he farmed his three hectares while playing an active role in the underground. Auriol's success as mediator while presiding over the two Constituent Assemblies contributed much to the prestige he has brought to the Presidency.

THE TROUBLE SPOTS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EAST

Today the eyes of the world are concentrated upon the area covering the Eastern Mediterranean, the Balkans and the Near East, which has once more—in line with an old historic pattern—becomes the danger point for mankind.

The stakes involved in this situation shown by numbers on the map, are:

1 Control of the *Dardanelles,* strategic gateway between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. The Straits are part of Turkish territory, but are regulated by the Montreux Convention, which authorized Turkey to refortify the Straits and close them if it were at war or threatened by aggression.

2 Control of the *northern Greek border.* This is an area of intense agitation, with Greek opposition forces holding considerable stretches of territory, aided, according to the Greek Government, by Albanians, Yugoslavs and Bulgarians from across the border. A UN Security Council Balkan commission has just completed a survey of the area and is to present a report not later than May 1. The situation in this area is complicated by the unrest in Macedonia (see inset).

3 *Kars and Ardahan.* These two cities in Turkish territory are the object of strong claims by the U.S.S.R. through the intermediary of the Soviet Armenian Republic. They were ceded by the Soviets to Turkey after the first world war.

4 *Kurd territory.* This territory, situated on the borders of Turkey, northern Iran and Iraq, is inhabited by the restive Kurd tribes. A year ago, during the short-lived Azerbaijan autonomous republic, tension in that area mounted considerably.

5 *Oil.* Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia and the Caucasus are among the largest oil-bearing areas of the world. Last year, Prime Minister Ghavam of Iran and the Russian Government signed an agreement for exclusive oil concessions in northern Iran, subject to Iranian Parliament (Mejlis) ratification, which has not been forthcoming.

6 *Palestine.* Palestine, since the end of World War II, has been one of the most sensitive centers of this whole area. A League of Nations mandate entrusted to Britain under the terms of the Balfour Declaration which provided for "the establishment of a Jewish homeland" in Palestine is being bitterly opposed by all the Arabian governments. Unable to find a satisfactory solution, Britain has decided to submit the whole problem to the UN.

7 *Egypt-Sudan.* The Egyptian Government is asking for a leading role in Arabian affairs. It is pressing for control is today dominium.

8 *Libya* ony o cupied by of contenti

WORLD TENSION

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lies. In principle, the Italian colonies were to become UN trusteeships, but as no agreement could be reached during negotiation of the Italian treaty, the whole issue has been postponed.

9 *Trieste.* Trieste has been the hottest issue debated before the Security Council, with the Yugoslavs demanding its incorporation; Italians, its retention. After endless discussions at the Paris Peace Conference, it was finally decided that Trieste would become a "free territory" under a direct UN trusteeship.

10 *Cyprus.* A strategic island, Cyprus is the object of strong agitation by both Greece and the inhabitants of Cyprus for incorporation into the former. The British Government has declared that an immediate solution is not feasible.

ALEMÁN: MEXICO'S MAN OF PROMISE

The visit of Miguel Alemán, President of Mexico, to the United States this month will focus the attention of Americans on one of Latin America's outstanding personalities. Here Anita Brenner, authority on Mexico, tells the story of the man and what he stands for.

THE first peaceful elections in many generations brought Miguel Alemán to the Presidency of Mexico on December 4, 1946, at the age of 43; the youngest civilian ever to hold the post. Mexicans voted for him in a general mood of, "Well, he talks sense, he's got good people around hm, he's a man of culture, and besides, the other one is the gringo candidate. Let's take a chance."

Among his friends, however—and they are very numerous—the tone was subdued exultation, as if they were about to present the country with the greatest, happiest surprise in its life.

Right now it looks as if his friends had something there. For if the six years of his term are of a piece with his first four months, he will chalk up another record: an all-time presidential high in public confidence and personal popularity. A considerable number of people have him booked to win also in ratio of performance on pledges made; and these are big. Some even feel it possible, since he is so sure, that he can do as much as he proposes, finishing his term with the country in cheerful and industrious bloom—cheerful, out of a long, long night of anger, bitterness, frustration and despair.

No Flagwaver, He Means Business

IT ISN'T easy for outside observers to see why people should expect so much of Miguel Alemán. Superficially, there is nothing very remarkable about the man or his governmental methods. The visiting press, in a hurry, can't quite get him into focus. He doesn't click into any of the familiar political roles of our day.

Alemán is no ironpants, no messiah, no Hamlet, no medicine man and no Jeremiah. Nor is he a phrase-maker. He waves no flags, heads no crusades, invokes no fears to push his policies. There is no "theater" to him at all. So what picture of him there is outside Mexico is pretty blurred. But after all, to many Mexicans also, he's a not quite believable phenomenon to be sitting in the gilt and velvet presidential chair.

Alemán fits, however, against a background of 35 years of revolutionary breakage and sweep, exactly as if some novelist had thought him up to turn the plot towards the dénouement.

His program, summed up briefly at the end of his campaign (all his speeches are brief): "The needs of the Mexican people are many; our economic development is far below our social and political advancement; we must initiate, on firm foundations, the techniques of increasing agriculture, and industrialize our country, raising the standard of living and the cultural level of our people."

No clarions. No drama except this—the man means business. His campaign was such as has never before been seen in Mexico or elsewhere. It was a series of seminars, zone by zone and industry by industry, in which recognized authorities in each field participated (whatever their politics); and scholarly spokesman from government, industry, and labor contributed (in the form of scientific papers) their angles. The final joint recommendations, after discussion, were recorded, and the costs calculated.

His Confidence Is Catching

BY THE yardstick of present Mexican realities, the Alemán program is a very bold pledge and a staggering job. It is, however, under way, and precisely as a job; with power and profit politics, for the time being, anyway, playing second fiddle. The sensitive irritable antennae of the folks in the markets and stores and plants and adobe huts have picked this up from a lot of little tangibles—a price drop here, a grafting inspector fired there—and translated it into a long, luxurious sigh of relief and a stir of civic pride. It's been a long time since Apolonio the taxi-driver spoke approvingly of his government.

Alemán's light-hearted confidence is clearly catching, but there is something else that bulwarks the initiative and morale of people working with him. "It's a lesson I'll always owe him," says one old friend. "He was Governor of Veracruz then. There was this man around, an old fuddy-duddy as near as I could see. I asked Alemán why he coddled along anyone so useless. He didn't say much and I forgot about it. A few days later he called me and said he was going to inspect the beach-wall in the port of Veracruz, and since he remembered I had always been interested in getting those beaches clean, would I like to come along. Well, you've seen the job. Nice. And I said so very happily, of course. Then Alemán grinned back: 'Remember that useless old fuddy-duddy you told me to fire? Well, he did the job.'"

Not a Silver-spoon Man

MET anonymously, you wouldn't be very likely to guess Miguel Alemán's occupation. You would find him charming, you would do most of the talking, and you would get very little display of the contents in that large compartment of his brain marked Private. (At the beginning of his campaign, most foreign correspondents ticketed him as a light-weight.) From his low-pitched, unexhibitionistic manner and his hovering laughter, the university look of his clothes and his much more than average tact, his def-

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By Anita Brenner

The Author: Anita Brenner was nine years old when, in 1914, Pancho Villa's troops occupied the town of Aguascalientes and came on a foraging expedition to her father's ranch nearby. As a child she saw the long freight trains carrying the revolutionary armies—soldiers, women, children and dogs included. Later on, when Obregon was President, she went to school at the University of Mexico. She received a degree in anthropology from Columbia University, and was afterward commissioned by the Mexican Government to collect documents dealing with ancient Mexican art. As a newspaper correspondent at the time of the Mexican oil expropriations in 1938, she was the first foreign reporter to get a statement from General Cardenas on his policy.

erence for facts and his grasp of detail, his flash of interest in the concrete, you would suppose that he was a professional man in a rather detached job: a structural engineer maybe, or a plant executive at the production end. You could never imagine him tallyhoing excited crowds or participating in the hysterias of the propertied. And you would be right. You might, from a hint of courtliness in his bearing and his ease with people, take him for a blue-blood. But though most of Mexico also thinks he's a silver-spoon man—you would be wrong.

In the early 1900's Miguel Alemán was a little boy living in a thatched house on a patch of land in a jungle village. His father, who had owned the general store and dispensed forbidden opinions and liberal and labor papers, along with the corn, coffee, rope and the what-to-do for a sick cow, was now a guerrilla with a price on his head, risen in arms against the Díaz dictatorship. His son Miguel was barred, therefore, from the village school. At Cub Scout age the boy was peddling papers and delivering milk, as might any small-town boy in the United States.

His Father was a Warrior

A thin boy, with questioning eyes, young Miguel was too light for football but a fast star in basketball and not so bad at baseball. He was an unruly, coltish, romantic lad much better liked by the other boys and girls than by the elderly professors. The guerrilla armies had long since wiped out Díaz and were running the country themselves, in part yearning to do well by their people and in part doing well by themselves. By then Alemán Senior had become General Alemán, a legendary hero in Veracruz; a steady, nimble strategist, right-hand to General Obregón, one of the first revolutionary presidents, in the last decisive battles. But when Obregón himself attempted to perpetuate his power, disregarding a basic principle of the revolutionary Constitution forbidding re-election, the old General had grimly saddled up again.

Alemán Senior was killed in battle ambush when Miguel was a freshman in law school. He didn't leave his sons much in the bank, but enough and more in the head and in the heart. To his eldest son Miguel he bequeathed the love and respect for law that had cost him his life. To him also, he willed his most precious possession—the set of political principles set forth and implied in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, to be held as a living faith. And furthermore, he bequeathed the belief in the ultimate reasonableness of human beings on which democracy is based. This estate the son has neither squandered, traded nor mortgaged. It is inalienably part of the memory of his father, which lives in wordless depth of feeling and is a motive power in his course.

Always well-groomed and smartly dressed, Alemán cuts a striking figure

Like many boys on the northern side of the Rio Grande, Miguel Alemán worked his way through law school (and supported his mother and younger brother. Working your way through school, in Mexico, is a good deal more difficult than in the United States. Jobs are fewer, pay far lower. So, having had to rustle and scout and scramble for the few pesos the family needed and did not always get, it is humanly plain why the economic prob-

lems of his people should be his driving interest today. Apparently, too, working at all sorts of jobs and tinkering around with ideas for money in the swiftly changing years of the post-revolution, he developed that heterodox "Let's look into it, it might work" attitude which we are accustomed to cherish as our pet U. S. characteristic.

First Steps

With an inquiring mind plus a lot of off-hand energy, sooner or later (in these roomy Americas, anyway) you hit it, and he did. Before they were graduated, he and his close friend Gabriel Ramos Millán, now an influential senator, set up an office aimed at compensation work in mining and oil, Mexico's largest and once most deadly industries. Alemán had worked in both, mostly as geologist's assistant, so he had a beach-head. The office, equipped with a typewriter bought on the instalment plan and a pair of heads that knew law and how to get it enforced and therefore how to get an ample and just settlement without dragging suit, was colossally successful. It veined and branched and became an organization with teams in almost every industry and city. The boys, incredulously, found themselves getting very rich.

Along with the accumulating pesos, Alemán acquired a vast fund of detailed, practical information about his country's economy that few heads of nations could match. There was also deposited, in scores and then hundreds of people, a conviction that more than a good lawyer, he was a good friend. In the most unexpected places and in astonishing numbers, you find people eager to tell how much they owe him. Their affection was the strong grass-roots of his presidential campaign.

Alemán did not, however, leap to the presidential seat directly from his swivel. He and his partner tinkered around in business—putting money into old plants and new ideas—and lost a lot of it. They also sailed into real estate, and made back much more. At this point, in his late twenties, he was well along towards becoming a tycoon, with the doors of country clubs and Packards and board-rooms opening before him. But, as he once told this writer, he got more pleasure from law than from making money, so he made a try for a judgeship. His strong labor union backers raised the ante, petitioning President Cárdenas to put him on the Supreme Court. Cárdenas took a long look at his age and made him a magistrate, a step below the Supreme bench, in the Court of Appeals. There he created a sensation by coming to work before nine and keeping his docket infallibly up to date. Cárdenas took another long look, and when Alemán sprang into the gubernatorial race in his native state of Veracruz, he had the President's political blessing.

As Governor of Veracruz

He cut his first historical notch in that post in 1939, when Cárdenas and the oil companies had their mighty match. Cárdenas, invoking the full majesty of national sovereignty, demanded that the companies submit to the authority of the Supreme Court, or else—and the or else was thundered forth as expropriation. The nation gasped, reeling on the verge of—no one could foretell what. All the Sancho Panzas in and out of the government milled about on the verge of stampede Alemán, leading an all-out governors' convention, gentled and steadied and steeled that body solid, by means of whatever it is that gives him genius—there's no quieter word for it—as a political organizer. The secure anchor he threw was: "Stand by the law."

The presidential undercurrents began eddying around him then. As he rocketed up to ranking head of Avila Camacho's war Cabinet, strolling smilingly through the difficult and delicate duties of the Ministry of the Interior (the U. S. has no equivalent for its tight-rope complexities), a legend followed him: he was a man touched with luck, a favorite son of the providential, the man of destiny . . .

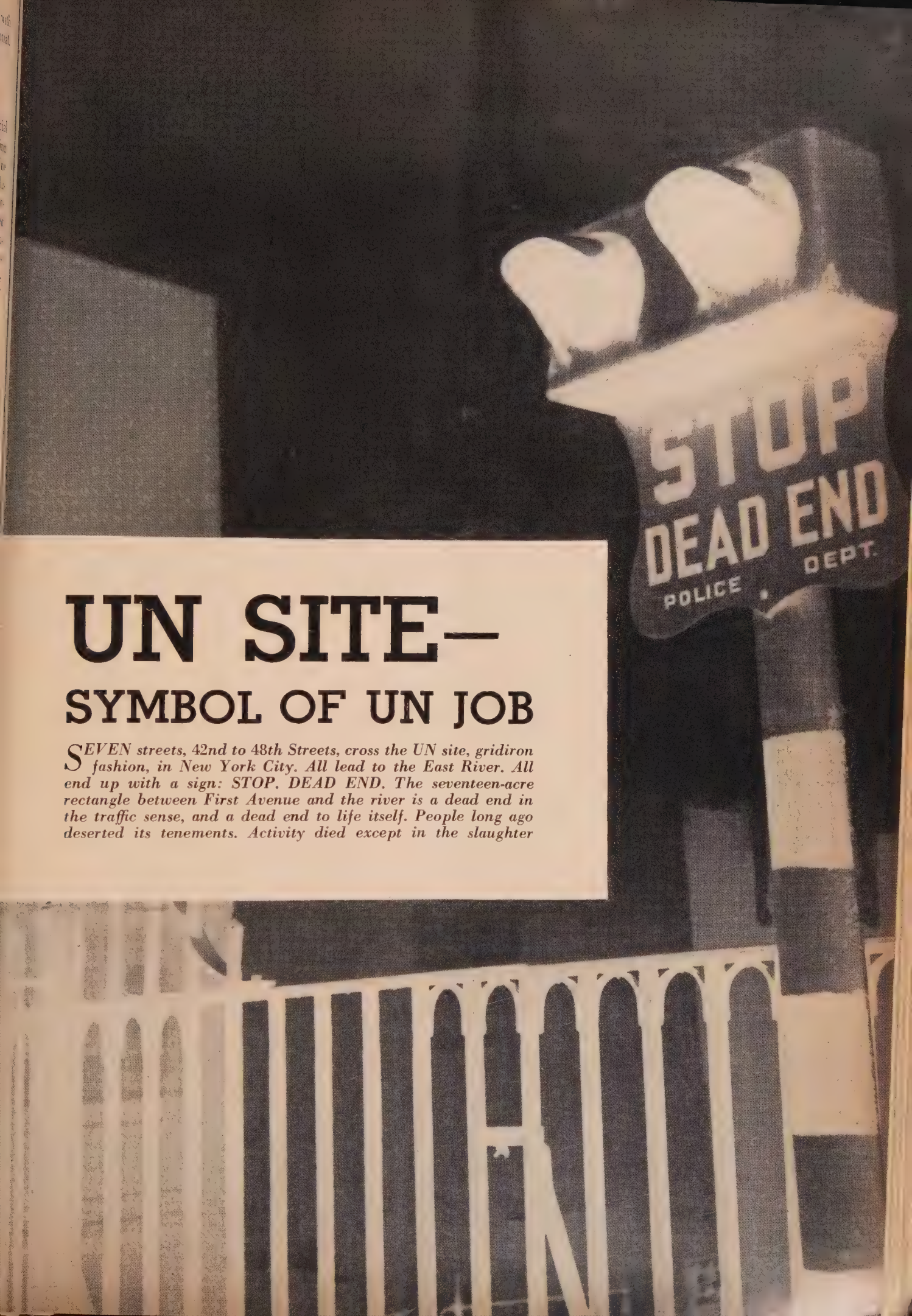
Practical Program

In the more prosaic view of social analysts, he signifies: "The coming of age of the middle-class. The solidifying of the bourgeois revolution." In this view, the Mexican Revolution emerges as a sort of telescoped 1776-Civil War, with the present moment roughly parallel to the U. S.'s wide-open 1870's. However, Mexico is a country very much unlike the United States, and the year is 1947, so you can't turn back the pages of U. S. history to find out what comes next. The *laissez-faire* that warmed the springtime of U. S. industry would be disastrous in 1947 Mexico. The country had a taste of it in the war years and few found it sweet. There isn't enough adventurous national capital, nor enough undeveloped prairies, nor enough virgin resources, nor any flood of lusty, inventive, sacrificial immigration to carry that wasteful formula to success.

The economic method being applied, instead, seems to be the only conceivable one at hand that squares with the full exercise of democratic freedoms, and yet can produce the advance in agriculture; the multiplication of industry and the transportation network; nationwide electrification; and rescue of the biggest part of the population from hunger, disease, ignorance and isolation—as pledged. This method is, the pragmatic use of government to advise and explore and project, in partnership with private initiative, national or foreign; if, but only if, so wished by each enterprise. It is also, government as industrialist setting up its own autonomous plants, like the New York Port Authority, or T.V.A., in needed activities or places not profitable enough to attract private money. And it is government as economist, in a way not so far tried in any other country.

Those campaign seminars, and their continuation in committees of consultants since (with government, business, labor and technical opinion represented), have thrown up a mass of information, sifted through so many minds and interests that the findings are not only democratically correct, but also realistic guides to the wants and possibilities of each industry or zone throughout the country.

On his recent flying trip to Mexico, President Truman found Alemán a gracious host



UN SITE—

SYMBOL OF UN JOB

SEVEN streets, 42nd to 48th Streets, cross the UN site, gridiron fashion, in New York City. All lead to the East River. All end up with a sign: STOP. DEAD END. The seventeen-acre rectangle between First Avenue and the river is a dead end in the traffic sense, and a dead end to life itself. People long ago deserted its tenements. Activity died except in the slaughter

houses. Only grimness and neglect—grimy abattoirs, decayed buildings and refuse dumps—were left. Time long ago passed the area by. It is a place where ghosts of the past still tread their old familiar haunts.

THERE is startling and ironical symbolism in this. For by chance, the UN skyscraper capital will rise upon a site that in many ways represents all the human, economic, and the material woes of the world at large. Thus, in its clamor for redress, it symbolizes the very job of the UN itself. How much so is told in the following story, drawn from an investigation of the UN site made for the United Nations World by Murray Schumach, of the New York Times.

A DESOLATE city dump lies between 46th and 47th Streets along East River Drive, its squalor and neglect characterizes many an area of the earth itself. Across the East River the enormous cranes of the Brooklyn Navy Yard stand out against the sky like monstrous gallows. The smell of dead animals drifts up from the river suspended from a cold, damp wind. The few people in the street hurry along, necks deep in upturned collars. No children play around this dump. A cop near 46th Street, his back hunched against the wintry wind, explained: "Hell, there ain't no children along here. That's the whole trouble with this beat. Between here and 43rd Street, I don't know of but two kids living in these flats." A fellow cop chimed in: "This is a graveyard, all right. A real graveyard. Nothing ever happens here anymore. Not like it used to be and I been in this precinct 23 years." A slum without children, without noise and vitality . . . dead a long time, just waiting for someone to bury it.

THIS is the UN site: slaughterhouses, dusty lofts and dilapidated tenements. At the corner of First Avenue and 42nd St., is an abandoned tenement. The big buildings beyond, stretching up First Avenue, are slaughterhouses. The one between 46th and 47th Streets has already shut down. The entire neighborhood seems to cringe in a hollow along the river bank, sandwiched between the towering luxurious apartment houses in the north and smoke-belching power plants to the south. The buildings that were once brown, white and red and are now grimy, lifeless.

THE wide doors of the slaughterhouses are open most of the day and you can see dirty sheep huddled in nearby pens. If you wait around, Judas (he may be a goat or an old sheep, depending on which slaughterhouse employs him) shambles into the pen accompanied by a Negro with a sort of razor strop. The driver probably calls him Joe. Outsiders have named him Judas, for it's the goat who leads the mob of sheep, like lost legions in an unfriendly land, into "sheep-kill alley", where the villain neatly sidesteps into freedom and his followers go to their doom. The slaughterhouse men have gruesome anecdotes. In the early 20th century the poor came with cups to drink the warm blood of killed animals, because they thought it would make them healthy.

Those were the days, too, when liver could be had for the asking. "Why, they would hit you in the face with the stuff." said a truck driver . . . "Hell, they don't throw anything away today. Look at the ox tails, etc."

THERE is even a broken-down blacksmith's shop complete with smithy, in the UN site. A slaughterhouse built thirty-five years ago is still known as "the new slaughterhouse." Even the talk of the slaughterhouse workers is pitched in the era of long ago. They speak of the First Avenue horse-drawn trolley as though they were still pursuing it in sneakered feet and patched pants. As though it were yesterday, they revel in the memories of the back of Hackenschmidt's bar, where wrestling matches were on view for the price of a few beers. Their fight talk dwells on figures like Jess Willard, Harry Greb and Jack Johnson.

Chats in dim taverns go back to before World War I, antedating not only the UN but the League of Nations.

THIS is an abandoned tenement house, at First Avenue and 42nd Street. Its street level shop was long ago deserted, the windows boarded up and made a gruesome showcase for garish movie posters. Years ago, tenements such as these were occupied by Irish and Germans and Italians who created, in miniature, just such an international problem in the district as the UN faces on a larger scale the world around. When children ran around in gangs, the Irish and the German kids usually tormented the Italians. Because the Italians and the Irish, though both Catholic, disliked attending the same place of worship, an Italian church was built to supplement the Irish one.

ONE of the all-night cafeterias found near the UN site is called the World Cafeteria—strictly a coincidence. Nowadays, when they are not swapping ghostly reminiscences, the slaughterers who frequent them kid the counterman and bartender about the coming of UN. "Hey, Nick," they'll say, "I hear that when these diplomats start dropping over to your joint for a quick one you're gonna get a guy with a silk rope like the Stork Club." They tease him about having to take lessons in mixing fancy drinks for the international set; about stocking up on caviar and hors d'oeuvres instead of pretzels and hamburgers.

AT NIGHT, the UN site sits huddled and invisible at the feet of the mighty glittering skyscrapers of midtown New York. The East River façade will soon change; where the crumbling, reeking buildings of the river side now stand, will rise new skyscrapers, dedicated to the welfare of mankind, and blotting out perhaps the towering column of the Chrysler Building, seen at center, on 42nd Street. Instead of dumps and wreckage, spacious lawns and tree-lined paths are likely to fringe the UN site along the busy river. The aim of the UN will be to make its achievements in world security and rehabilitation as impressive as its capital—the HQ of 55 or more nations.

The United Nations

The Secretary General. Trygve Lie hopped off March 27 for a brief visit to Norway. He went at the request of the Oslo Parliament to clear up some matters left over from his wartime duties. The Secretary General's short air trip—for work, not pleasure—was a far cry from his hoped-for real vacation in Canada, Iceland and Norway, now completely ruled out by current international tension. Instead, for a holiday, the S.G. can now hope at best for a few days skiing in Canada—near a telephone booth and a landing field.

Lie's face is heavily drawn these days, and the man with a proverbial ability to fall asleep any time he has an opportunity, is beginning to discover the discomfort of occasional insomnia. The political troubles of the Secretary General are such that if Byron Price, the new Assistant S. G. for Administrative Affairs, turns out to be the perfect administrator everyone expects, Lie will concentrate entirely upon political matters.

The first step in that direction was a precedent-setting visit he paid to Washington on March 21 for conferences with a number of senators, both Republican and Democratic. Most of them advised a cautious attitude on the part of the UN pending further action by President Truman. Diplomats from many other countries, on the contrary, suggested that the S. G. come out with a strong statement addressed to both the governments of the United Nations and directly to public opinion. These observers suggested that he ask all the major powers unequivocally "to come back to the United Nations or face the prospect of the worst disaster."

Secretary Lie's Dilemma

THIS is the dilemma in which the S. G. finds himself all the time: whether to adopt a waiting attitude—because, after all, the United Nations Organization cannot be better or stronger than its most important members want it to be; or whether to assume an active attitude and use his position for a dramatic plea to public opinion.

Some diplomatic circles suggested that the S. G. might go so far as to use the powers delegated to him under Article 99 of the Charter, and bring the whole matter of the Truman speech before the Security Council. The Article mentioned reads as follows:

> "The Secretary General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security."

The major political crisis, however, is not his main worry. Palestine, while still not officially on the agenda, is the S. G.'s major preoccupation. He has already had many contacts with the British and U. S. governments on this subject and he has listened to the viewpoints of both the Jews and Arabs. He is now trying to prepare the Organization for the moment when this explosive issue is put on the agenda.

Lie and His Staff

THE dissatisfaction of UN personnel, expressed in rather vehement terms by their spokesman at a general get-together at Lake Success, both disturbed and saddened the S. G. He feels that he is not responsible for the income cuts and insecurity. After all, he has merely abided by the decisions of the General Assembly. Above all, he is distressed by the fact that he, as an old trade union man, should have difficulties with his own employees. Meanwhile, the publicity given to the meeting in Norwegian papers didn't help matters.

Lie's daily meetings with his eight assistant secretaries general and his special advisers—which in the past have been devoted mostly to practical problems of administration—are becoming more political in character. There is a definite feeling that some of the assistant secretaries general will soon press openly for a very strong stand by the Secretary General on political matters.

Top members of the UN Headquarters planning staff discuss latest plans for the seat of the United Nations in New York. Left to right—Howard Robertson (U.K.), Wallace K. Harrison (U.S.), N. D. Bassov (U.S.S.R.), Serge M. Wulf (Assistant to the Secretary of the Headquarters Commission), and Charles Le Corbusier (France).

Dr. Alexander Parodi, French Ambassador to the UN, just back from important consultations in Paris, and U. S. chief delegate Warren R. Austin.

TRUMAN SPEECH ELECTRIFIES SECURITY COUNCIL

STILL awaiting a high level political decision on the atom problem, which by unanimous decision was returned to the Atomic Energy Commission, the Security Council continued last month to reflect an atmosphere of some anxiety. This developed into an almost palpable electrified tension the afternoon President Truman spoke on the subject of Greece and Turkey. Even Gromyko was crisper than usual with members of the press—he alone of all the delegates to the Security Council had listened to the speech. He sat throughout the brief session, staring into space while the Council continued discussion of the Pacific Islands mandate and decided to invite representatives of "nations most concerned."

But the Council made progress, even if only academic, on some of its problems. First, its Commission on Conventional Armaments, began its operations. Meanwhile, the sub-committee on the Corfu Channel incident completed an innocuous report and submitted it for some acrimonious discussion. Finally, the Council almost completed the implementation of the United States mandate of the Pacific Islands, despite labyrinthian sideroads opened by the admission into the discussions as interested parties without votes of representatives of Canada, Netherlands, India, New Zealand and the Philippine Republic.

The Conventional Armaments Commission, a committee of the whole of the Security Council, is scheduled to report May 13—to itself in its capacity of Security Council. Its objective is the control of conventional armaments and non-atomic weapons of mass destruction.

The Council's Balkan Commission wound up its work in Greece, March 23, having heard a total of 29 witnesses during 61 meetings. It decided unanimously to set up two drafting committees to prepare its report in Geneva beginning about April 10. The first Committee will draft the "factual" part of the report while the other will draw up the Commission's conclusions and recommendations—"if any." Uncertainty as to whether there will be any recommendations exists because the Security Council's resolution does not make these mandatory. It merely invites the Commission to "make any proposals it may deem wise for averting a repetition of border violations."

The Corfu dispute now stands about where it did the day after the Albanian delegate answered the British accusations that the Albanians had either laid mines or connived with their laying in the Corfu Channel. As no agreement could be reached there is growing sentiment in favor of referring the entire dispute to the World Court.

Pacific Islands Trusteeship

AS THINGS now stand on the Pacific Islands trusteeship, the American proposition is still expected to pass with acceptance of all, or almost all, of its original proposals, despite various attempts at amendments. One of these in particular, an Australian resolution to make the effective date of the trusteeship agreement dependent on the signature of the Japanese peace treaty, looks like losing out in a straight vote. The introduction of side aspects from the "interested parties in the discussion" will most probably include nothing more drastic than clarification of detail.

Discussion of atomic control, by returning to the Atomic Energy Commission, will disappear from the public ken until such time as the Commission reports back to the Security Council. Chairman of the Commission for the first time, Gromyko announced his intention of pressing for consideration of amendments and additions which he submitted to the Security Council in February. Observers feel this may mean the reopening of the old discussion on the "urgency" of a convention prohibiting atomic armaments and the "secondary importance" of the establishment of a control organization, both of which have been stressed repeatedly by the U. S. S. R.

PROBLEM OF GLOBAL FULL EMPLOYMENT

WAYS and means to assure full employment on a global scale were hotly debated last month by the Economic and Social Council. While considering the report of the Economic and Employment Commission, Britain's Hector McNeil submitted a resolution asking the UN to take steps toward global full employment, stressing action through governmental channels rather than through international agencies. S. K. Kirpalani (India) pointed out that a high number of employed people did not necessarily mean either high standards of living or high production. He warned that unless under-developed areas were helped so their purchasing power was boosted, the industrialized countries would soon find themselves with surpluses—and no customers.

U. S. delegate Leroy Stinebower declared that the initiative in raising their standards of living must come from the needy countries themselves, and that much help could be given through private and governmental channels and through the UN's specialized agencies. Speaking for Canada, George Davidson suggested a world economic commission with regional branches, as formerly proposed by China. In discussing the duties of the Sub-commission on Economic Development, the Byelorussian spokesman, Leonid Kaminsky, pointed out that it was useless to prescribe remedies for under-development without first studying the causes. After an extended debate, the United Kingdom agreed to reword its resolution to stress the interconnection between full employment and economic development.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE

ECONOMIC recovery, one of the indispensable prerequisites for peace, moved a great step nearer realization for Europe early last month when the Economic and Social Council unanimously approved the immediate creation of an Economic Commission for Europe. The new

body was given wide autonomous powers for direct contacts with governments concerned.

Set up within the framework of the Economic and Social Council, the Economic Commission is an outgrowth of a resolution passed at the last General Assembly. Its creation is expected to end the costly overlapping of emergency activities in European reconstruction by presenting a "tidier organization" for direct relations with the UN.

One of the most important items on the Council's agenda, the European Commission came into being after various difficulties as to its terms of reference had been smoothed out. The question of membership, however, was fully covered. In the end, the states of the Middle East and North Africa which had asked for inclusion in the scope of the Commission's work, were excluded. As finally drafted, the provision covering membership read: "The members of the Commission are the European members of the United Nations and the United States of America." Provision was also made for consultative discussion with such governments as the Commission might desire. Unsuccessful in his plea for membership of Middle Eastern States was Dr. Charles Malik, of Lebanon who claimed that these countries, besides being component parts of the Mediterranean basin, could contribute greatly to the development of European economy as a whole, being themselves dependent on it because "economically they faced north and north-west."

THE COMMISSION'S TERMS OF REFERENCE

CHIEF difference throughout the discussion on the drafting committee sprang from the desire of the U. S. S. R. to attain a more "precise" (read: restrictive) list of terms. The main point of agreement, since it foreshadows at least one elimination of overlapping, was the decision to "absorb or terminate" the activities of the European Coal Organization and the European Central Inland Transport Organization while ensuring that the essential work performed by those two bodies was fully maintained.

Other terms of reference agreed upon empower the Commission to make recommendations directly to member governments, governments admitted in a consultative capacity, and unspecialized agencies. This is expected to permit the Commission to operate more efficiently on a regional basis than if it were to make necessary contacts through the Economic and Social Council.

Provision was also made for the inclusion of representatives of Allied Control Authorities in the discussions of the European Commission. Unable to agree as to method, the Drafting Committee provided two alternative suggestions. The first, backed by the U. S. and the U. S. S. R., called for "admission by the Commission in a consultative capacity, of representatives of the Allied Control Authorities . . . on matters of particular concern to them." The other, representing the views of the United Kingdom and France, went still further, recommending consultation for mutual information and advice, with a specific reference to the importance of German economy to Europe as a whole.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND FAR EAST

THE comparative speed and simplicity with which the European Commission was organized, threw into sharp contrast the difficulties encountered in creating a similar Commission for Asia and the Far East. For in that area, and at the request of the delegates concerned, the problem became two-fold. Not only was reconstruction a matter of urgent consideration, but the needs of under-developed areas took on greater importance than in Europe.

Moreover, the absence in Asia and the Far East of any "spadework organizations," such as Europe's Emergency Economic Commission, Coal Organization and Central Inland Transport Organization, meant that much leeway had to be made up in the East. Initial examination of the problem further brought to light the absence of any statistics comparable to those available in Europe.

All this militated against mere "adjustment" to Asian conditions of the terms set out for the European Commission, and led the United States delegate to call for the creation of interim agencies until effective functioning of the Commission could be assured. Finally voted into existence unanimously, the Commission will eventually get terms of reference and a charter of action evolved by an *ad hoc* committee.

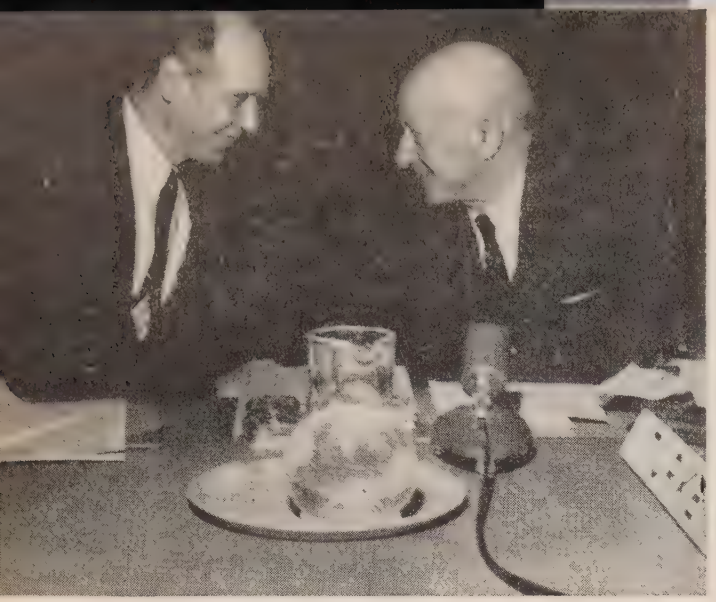
WORLDWIDE BIDS FOR ECONOMIC AID

AS WAS the case regarding geographic delimitation of the European Commission, difficulties were encountered in the establishment of "boundaries" of the Far Eastern Commission's competence. Walter Nash, of New Zealand, broached the necessity of creating an Economic Commission for the South Pacific, and Arab delegates indicated their intention to seek immediate creation of an Economic Commission for Africa and the Middle East—which would parenthetically also cover the reconstruction and development problems of Ethiopia, another "orphan state" in the present set-up.

The probability is that despite good intentions and much work, the drafting group for the Far Eastern Commission will not be able to achieve any concrete results before the next session of the Economic and Social Council in July, because of the magnitude of preliminary work still to be done.

The initial debates over the creation of both the European and Far Eastern Commissions were marked by urgent reminders from South American delegates of the concern their governments feel for their national economic and industrial futures. Many of them, having developed raw material resources as a contribution to the common war effort, are now threatened with economic dislocation once demands of reconstruction elsewhere subside. These same delegates later requested inclusion of a Latin American in

Maj. Gen. Frederick Osborn, U. S. alternate delegate to the Atomic Energy Commission, among the tallest men in the UN, and Ambassador Quo Tai Chi, among the shortest, meet in the Delegates' Lounge.



Would you guess that the parties of this amicable discussion at e Economic and Social Council are the delegates of U.S.S.R. and urkey? Left to right—A. P. Morozov (U.S.S.R.) and Bulent azici.

the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East because of their close economic relationships with that area. Venezuela's appointment as member of the committee charged with drafting terms of reference was an acknowledgment of the justification of their claims.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL GETS GOING

UN disposition of the fate of some 14 million people constituted the agenda of the first Trusteeship Council meeting which opened at the end of March. The mandates under consideration are:

A. The Cameroons, Togoland and Tanganyika: under British administration.

B. The Cameroons and Togoland: under French administration.

C. The part of New Guinea under Australian administration.

D. Western Samoa: under New Zealand administration.

E. Ruanda-Urundi: under Belgian administration.

The Trusteeship Council, last of the major UN bodies to be set up, faced great difficulties at its initial session. First, the Charter itself was the least generous in its trusteeship provisions. Administering nations retain wide discretion in the exercise of their power and UN inspection is contingent upon the cooperation of these powers. Thus the role of the Council runs the risk of being very limited. Second, the administering powers have already indicated—in draft agreements they submitted—their desire to interpret Charter provisions at a minimum. Third, some administering powers have attempted to avoid their mandate obligations by plebiscites and spontaneous declarations from local chieftains requesting incorporation.

The opening session was marked by the absence of the U.S.S.R., which had previously strongly objected to the basis on which the Council was set up. Its sessions are nevertheless considered legal. Under the UN Charter, the decisions of a "majority of members present and voting" are binding.

A Problem in Arithmetic

AT PRESENT the Trusteeship Council is composed as follows: administering members (those with prospective trusteeship territories)—Australia, Belgium, France, New Zealand and U. K.; nonadministering members (by virtue of their permanent membership in the Security Council)—China, U. S. and U. S. S. R.; members elected by the General Assembly—Iraq and Mexico.

Since the Charter provides that the number of administering and nonadministering members must be equal, some complications will arise when the Security Council approves and the U. S. Senate ratifies assignment of the Pacific Islands as a strategic trusteeship of the U. S., which will thus become an administering power. The next General Assembly will have to elect two more members in order to re-create statutory equality. Explanation for this seeming arithmetical anomaly is that the present line-up of five administering powers becomes six at the expense of one from the nonadministering powers, while the Council's total membership increases to twelve.

Petitions From Samoans and "Displaced" Germans

TWO administrative items on the Council's agenda dealt with petitions from tribes of the Western Samoan Islands, presently under New Zealand Mandate, and from "displaced" Germans in Tanganyika.

The first of these, requesting the Council to "end the present artificial division of the Samoan Islands," is complicated by the fact that Eastern Samoa is administered by the United States, which so far has not submitted a trusteeship agreement for the territory. The islands were partitioned under treaty in 1898 between the United States, Great Britain and Germany—"without the consent of the Samoans," says the petition. It nevertheless expresses "great appreciation" for the New Zealand administration and requests that government to continue after "attainment of self government" in the role of "protector and advisor."

The "displaced Germans" of Tanganyika protested against alleged threatened British deportation to the Reich—a possibility neither confirmed nor denied in official British quarters.

GREECE'S ECONOMIC POTENTIAL

THRICE ravaged in 30 years by successive wars, Greece may yet pull out of its economic swamps if reconstruction is closely integrated by an overall plan for full development of her hydroelectric potential. This is the gist of a lengthy report from the FAO Mission to Greece published almost simultaneously with President Truman's pronouncement on Greece and Turkey. It maps out a UN supervised program for Greek recovery. Actual transformation from industrial and agricultural methods of biblical times to modern methods may take another two decades. But the final result can more than triple the present standards.

Tentative figures outlined by the FAO Mission indicate Greek hydroelectric output could equal that of the Boulder Dam, at the same time permitting irrigation of potential crop-producing areas at least one-third as large as those under irrigation in California.

The Mission's report urged Greeks at home and abroad to invest in their country's future, but recognized that substantial foreign loans were also needed to advance full long-term development. In this connection it recommended a $100,000,000 loan for the year 1947-1948 from the International Bank for initial transport, building and development projects.

The report also recommended creation of a UN Ad-

CALENDAR OF WORLD EVENTS

With Some Additional Information Culled from Calendars and Almanacs from All Over the World

APRIL

Days of the Month, Births, Deaths, Marriages and Festivals

Important Events

1947

Historical Anniversaries, Notes, Comments and Forecasts

1. T.	April Fools' Day W. Harvey, Br.physn., b. (1578)	King George VI at Johannesburg, So. Africa Princeton Un. Bicent. Cnf. on Far East Cul.	U.S. 10th Army invaded Okinawa (1945) Last month for oyster fans until Sept.
2. W.	Emile Zola born (1840) Hans C. Andersen born (1805)	Royal Horticultural Society Show, London National Union Journalists, Hastings, Eng.	First Canadian census (1871) U.S. Congress established 1st mint (1792)
3. T.	Hauptmann executed (1936) Washington Irving born (1783)	Music Festival, Perth, Scotland Nat. A.A.U. Swim. Ch'p'ships, Columbus, O.	April f'cast—Irish horses will be in fore-front in England. *Old Moore's Alm.*, Dublin
4. F.	Good Friday W. Harrison, U. S. Pres., d. 1841	**Permanent Central Opium Board, Gen.** Easter Giant Slalom, Wengen, Switz.	Dirigible Akron lost off N. J. (1933) Feisal II proclaimed King of Iraq (1939)
5. S.	Hebrew Passover begins Pocahontas wed J. Rolfe (1614)	Shakespeare Festival, Stratford-on-Avon N. Y. Racing Season opens, Jamaica	U.S.S.R. ends Jap. neutrality pact (1945) Rumania broke relations with Spain (1946)
6. S.	Easter Sunday U. S. Army Day	Inter-Am. Bar Assoc. Conference, Lima Easter Ski Derby, Saas-Fee, Switzerland	Germany invaded Greece, Yugoslavia (1941) Peary discovered North Pole (1909)
7. M.	Wm. Wordsworth born (1770) Walter Winchell born (1897)	Interparliamentary Plen. Session, Cairo Nat. Assoc. Corrosion Engineers, Chicago	Sun Yat-sen elected pres. S. China (1921) Bolivia declared war on Axis (1943)
8. T.	H. Cushing, brain sgn., b. (1869) Lorenzo di Medici died (1492)	Inter-Am. Cncl. C'merce & Prdctn., M'video Internat. Trade & Employment Conf., Geneva	Ponce de Leon landed in Florida (1513) Germany invaded Norway, Denmark (1940)
9. W.	Léon Blum born (1872) Paul Robeson born (1898)	**Executive Board of UNESCO*, Paris** Circus opens at Mad. Sq. Garden, New York	Lee surrendered at Appomattox (1865) Lord Lovatt, Jacobite, executed Ldn., (1747)
10. T.	Ram Naumi, Indian Festival Hugo Grotius born (1583)	Internat. Fur & Leather Fair, Basel **Inter. Conf. Trade & Employ., Geneva**	Russians recaptured Odessa (1944) Greeley founded N. Y. Tribune (1841)
11. F.	Chas. Evans Hughes born (1862) Dean Acheson born (1893)	British royal family in Rhodesia European Wrestling Championships, Prague	'47 f'cast—cut-rate sales. "Men's Pants, Half Off"—don't take too literally. *Old Farmers A.*
12. S.	Franklin D. Roosevelt d. (1945) Henry Clay born (1777)	Swiss Industries Fair, Basel Internat. 8-hr. Bicycle Race, Zurich	Truman sworn in as president (1945) Fort Sumter fired on (1861)
13. S.	Easter Sunday (Greek Ortho.) Thomas Jefferson born (1743)	Spring Fiesta, New Orleans British "double summertime" begins	Moscow, Tokyo sign neutrality pact (1941) Philadelphia struck by tornado (1856)
14. M.	Pan-American Day Huygens, Dutch sc., b. (1629)	**Passports Conf., Geneva; Subcomm. Statist. Sampling, L. Suc.;** B.B. Sea. opens	Lincoln shot by Booth (1865) Titanic disaster, 1,635 lives lost (1912)
15. T.	Abraham Lincoln died (1865) Henry James born (1843)	**PICAO§ Traff. Cntrl., Eur. & Med., Par.** World Telecommunic'ns Conf. Wash., D.C.	Lincoln called for volunteers (1861) Laval became Premier of France (1942)
16. W.	Wilbur Wright born (1867) Anatole France born (1844)	Inter-American Cong. of Women, Guatemala Ireland vs. Wales (soccer), Belfast	Slavery abolished, Distr. Columbia (1862) George Cross awarded Malta (1942)
17. T.	J. P. Morgan born (1837) Benjamin Franklin died (1790)	**ECITO# Council (7th Session), Paris** British royal party arrives Mafeking	Luther excommunicated (1521) Toronto fire. $10,000,000 loss (1904)
18. F.	Ernie Pyle killed (1945) Leopold Stokowski born (1882)	Institute of Hospital Admin., Brighton, Eng. Home Show, Indianapolis	Doolittle's planes raided Tokyo (1942) Paul Revere's midnight ride (1775)
19. S.	Curie, disc'r. radium, d. (1906) Benjamin Disraeli died (1881)	Army Generals' Golf Match, St. And., Scot. Metropolitan Home Show, New York	F'cast Apr. 19—Dangerous gales, Gt. Lakes & Atlantic coast; storms, west, plains *Agr. A.*
20. S.	Adolf Hitler born (1889) D. C. French, sculpt., b. (1850)	Children's Procession (Spring Fest.), Zurich Trout & pickerel season opens, Conn.	U. S. Seventh Army takes Nuremburg (1945) N. Y. State Constitution adopted (1777)
21. M.	Princess Elizabeth born (1926) Charlotte Bronte born (1816)	**Subcom. Protection Minorities, L. Suc.** National Sportsmen's Show, Ottawa	Romulus founded Rome (753 B.C.) U. S. broke relations with Spain (1898)
22. T.	Nat. Sovereignty Day, Turkey Immanuel Kant born (1724)	Internat. Hydrographic Conf., Monaco Nebraskans celebrate Arbor Day	Accession of Henry VIII, Eng. (1509) Germans use poison gas at Ypres (1915)
23. W.	Buchanan, U. S. Pres., b. (1791) Wm. Shakespeare born (1564)	**Indust. Com. on Coal Min. (ILO†), Gen.** Music Festival, Norwich, Eng.	T. Roosevelt sailed for Africa (1909) U. S. recognized Czechoslovak Rep. (1919)
24. T.	Ethelred II, Eng., d. (1016) Tony Sarg born (1882)	Nat. Indust. Conf. Bd. Convention, Chicago King George VI leaves Capetown for Eng.	Library of Congress founded (1800) Spain declared war on U. S. (1898)
25. F.	Oliver Cromwell born (1599) Guglielmo Marconi born (1874)	Japanese General Election Boat and Marine Show, San Francisco	UN Conference to draft Charter opened in San Fran. with 47 nations present (1945)
26. S.	John James Audubon b. (1785) J. Wilkes Booth killed (1865)	International Sample Fair, Brussels British Cup Final (soccer), London	Cavaliers entered Chesapeake Bay (1607) Lafayette left France for U. S. (1777)
27. S.	Ulysses S. Grant born (1822) Zog wed C'tess Geraldine (1938)	Landsgemeinde (pop. Parl'ments) meet, Sw. Fishing season opens, Michigan	$3,000,000 fire, Charleston, S. C. (1838) Set duck and turkey eggs. *Astrolog. Alm.*
28. M.	James Monroe born (1758) Mussolini killed (1945)	**Internat. Timber Conf. (FAO), Prague** **UN Fiscal Commission, Lake Success**	Bounty rebels set Bligh adrift (1789) U. S. forces take Baguio, Phil. (1945)
29. T.	Alexander II, Rus., born (1818) Hirohito born (1901)	**Consult. Comm. on Public Inf.** Pres. Alemán, Mexico, in Washington, D. C.	Germans surrender unconditionally (1945) Britain gives U. S. Mayflower log (1897)
30. W.	Queen Mary II., Eng., b. (1662) P'cess Juliana, N. b. (1909)	2,000 Guineas Horse Race, Newmarket, Eng. New Eng. Hotel & Rest. Assoc. Exh., Boston	Washington inaugurated president (1789) New York World's Fair opened (1939)

* UN Educational Cultural and Scientific Org. § Prov. International Civil Aviation Org. # European Central Inland Transport Org. † Internat. Labor Org.

visory Mission to give aid and technical advice on the spot. Not only would such a mission have concrete value in technical matters, but its mere existence, it is felt, would boost the morale of the Greek people, who would thus be assured that the work would go forward under competent supervision. Implementation of the plan, however, is conditioned on Greece finding peace within her own borders.

THE CAUSES OF ILLNESS AND DEATH

MEDICAL and statistical experts from nine nations gathered at a meeting in Ottawa last month of the Nomenclature Committee, the first of six committees of experts set up by the World Health Organization (WHO). The meeting discussed the revision of international lists of causes of death which have been compiled every ten years since 1900 by world meetings of health experts called by the French government. The Nomenclature Committee also decided to recommend that international lists of causes of illness be compiled. Countries which sent representatives to the WHO expert committee conference were Canada, France, Norway, Netherlands, Poland, United States, United Kingdom, U.S.S.R. and Venezuela.

FOR EASIER INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL

A PROJECT that will be welcomed by all travelers and globe-trotting businessmen will be taken up at a conference of travel experts of the Economic and Social Council opening at Geneva April 14. The conference is being convened to consider means of eliminating passport, visa and customs formalities.

Documentation on the subject has been submitted to the Secretary General from the Paris headquarters of the International Chamber of Commerce. This points up that countries making a worldwide search for trade would find they had more to gain from the free movement of large numbers of travelers and businessmen than from maintaining strict measures of security and protection, now outmoded two years after the end of the war in Europe.

Relaxation of border formalities is also advocated by the International Railway Union, The International Touring Association, the European Central Inland Transport Organization and the International Automobile Federation.

GROWTH OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

INTERGOVERNMENTAL organizations with branches in Spain have been barred from relationship with the United Nations by a resolution of the Economic and Social Council. The original resolution, however, was modified to exempt nongovernmental organizations with individual members (not legally constituted branches) in Spain or whose character is purely humanitarian and untouched by the Franco government, like the Red Cross.

In addition to the present Big Four (The World Federation of Trade Unions, the American Federation of Labor, The International Chamber of Commerce and the International Cooperative Alliance), three non-governmental organizations have been recommended for consultative status in Category A with the Economic and Social Council. That means they are in the top bracket of consultative agencies and are "closely linked with the economic and social life which they represent." The three organizations are: the International Federation of Agricultural Producers, International Federation of Christian Trade Unions and the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Meanwhile the International Association of Lions Clubs, Rotary International and the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, were recommended for Category C which deals with groups whose main concern is public opinion and the dissemination of information.

Applications received from 192 organizations from all over the world were referred to the Economic and Social Council for final OK. They represent national, labor, professional, youth and even sports groups. More applications are still rolling in.

A WORLD CALENDAR?

SINCE 1582, school boys and girls have been struggling along with the "30 days hath September . . . " calendar. That's long enough, thinks Alberto Arca Parro, Peruvian delegate to the Economic and Social Council. He has submitted a resolution recommending that a committee be set up to study a proposed World Calendar—subject to General Assembly approval.

The new calendar has twelve months and is divided into four quarters. The first month in each quarter has 31 days and the rest have 30, making a total of 364 days. Leap Year remains as a vestigial item from the Gregorian Calendar but the extra day comes at the end of June instead of February. To make the year equal 365 days, the calendar adds a worldwide holiday at the end of December . . . and Christmas would always come on Monday!

The League of Nations sponsored an International Calendar Conference in 1931 when 500 draft calendars were proposed. From these, two survived—the present World Calendar and a 13-month calendar which was abandoned. Fourteen countries endorsed the World Calendar in 1937. It is understood that the approval by ten of these countries, now members of the United Nations, will still hold good.

BYRON PRICE'S GLAMOR GIRLS

THE heavy burden of staff unrest and tangled administrative problems awaiting Byron Price on the assumption of his duties as Assistant Secretary General in charge of Administrative and Financial Affairs had its lighter side. This showed up in the noticeably dressed-up appearance of his feminine office personnel on the day he arrived at Lake Success. When queried as to the reason for this, one snappy-looking office worker replied that the girls were hoping that, as ex-Chairman of the board of the Motion Picture Producers Association, he would land Hollywood contracts for them!

In the presence of Lanka Sundaram, Indian correspondent, Mrs. Mehta, Indian member on the Human Rights Commission, listens to the eloquence of Gen. Romulo, permanent UN delegate from the Philippine Republic.

WHY DID MOLOTOV RAISE THE CHINESE QUESTION?

Diplomatic side-liners at the Moscow conference attribute Molotov's surprise suggestion that China be discussed at the current meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers to a hush-hush visit of a gentleman from Yenan to Moscow, on the eve of Secretary Marshall's arrival there. It now develops that Mao Tse-Tung, head of the Chinese Communist Party, was summoned to the Kremlin late in February. He conferred with both Stalin and Molotov, after having spent long hours in extensive conferences with Deputy Foreign Minister Jacob Malik, in charge of *L'Affaire Chine.*

The information received from Mao Tse-Tung prompted Molotov to broach the issue to his new colleague on the Council. Secretary Marshall is now generally recognized as the world's outstanding expert on the tangled controversy between Nanking and Yenan. Mao Tse-Tung has the highest regard for Marshall and may have conveyed this impression to Stalin and Molotov.

ARE JEWS EXCLUDED FROM ARGENTINA?

Secret instructions that have been sent to all Argentine Consuls contain a paragraph of cruel discrimination against Jews, according to information that has reached the UNITED NATIONS WORLD. They are ordered by President Juan D. Perón's government to refuse immigration visas to Jews and to reject transit visa applications of European Jews en route to Chile and Uruguay. Queried direct on this development by UNITED NATIONS WORLD's Washington Bureau, an Argentine Embassy spokesman would neither confirm nor deny it.

On this page and the next, the* United Nations World *presents a new regular monthly department, The State of World Diplomacy. This department will contain many exclusive items of worldwide interest such as the two above. It will also provide many hints of events to come, culled from the inner sources of embassies, legations and consulates the world over.

THE announcement that the U. S. Legation in Bangkok and the Siamese Legation in Washington are to be raised to the rank of embassies broadened the quizzical smile on the faces of diplomatic *habitués.* They regard the current American-inspired inflation in diplomatic ranks as an attempt to create a bigger, although not necessarily better, protocol in international relations.

The United States was the last of the major powers to establish embassies in foreign countries. Not until the end of the last century were many of the U. S. legations raised to the rank of embassies—at a time when even Japan, a Johnny-come-lately of 19th century diplomacy, had several embassies abroad.

In recent years, however, the United States has more than made up for the delay by inviting many more countries to elevate their legations to embassies. The first big move came early in World War II when the legations of several Allied countries were turned into embassies. It was carried further in 1943 when ambassadorial rank was granted wholesale to the Washington envoys of all Latin American republics.

The Vanishing Legation

The last five legations to be promoted were those of Australia, Egypt, Iraq, Denmark, and now Siam. The Philippines and India started from scratch with embassies. This brings the number of Washington embassies to the unprecedented number of 45, with only 19 legations left on diplomacy's lower echelon. Three of the legations, those of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, continue in recognition although their countries have been incorporated in the Soviet Union.

There are certain inconsistencies left and by the time these are remedied, there will hardly be left a legation in this ambassadorial town. While two of the British dominions, Canada and Australia, have embassies, two others, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, have to get along with legations. Of the Scandinavian countries, noted for their regional unity, Norway and Denmark have embassies, while Sweden and Finland have to be satisfied with legations. Sweden, we are told, flatly refused an invitation to raise its legation to the rank of embassy, but Saudi Arabia is expected to join Egypt and Iraq, other Arab states, in the Blue Book of Embassies.

F.D.R.'s "Flair for Decorum"

While this diplomatic back-slapping, for that is what it is, continues unabated, the distinction between the status of an embassy and of a legation is becoming obscure. An ambassador is supposed to be the President's personal representative abroad, while a minister represents the Government, i.e., the State Department. President Roosevelt, with an aristocrat's innate flair for decorum, was keenly aware of the distinction. He liked to call the United States' top envoys "my Ambassadors"—forgetting about the possessive when speaking of mere ministers.

With the ambassadorial rank rapidly losing its exclusivity, a move is a foot in diplomatic circles to create an even higher rank. The whole problem is hardly more than a question of nomenclature. In the words of Walter Alison Philips, "diplomatic titles are no exception to the general rule by which all titles tend to become cheap-

ened and therefore, from time to time, need to be reinforced by fresh verbal devices."

A portly ambassador in Washington who presides over a staff of just one female secretary and is often compelled to type out his diplomatic notes single-fingered, remarked with a sigh: "I wish I were still a minister." On the other hand, Madame de Kauffmann, wife of the newly created Danish Ambassador, welcomed the change-over. "You see," she said, "now everybody will know that my husband is a diplomat. While he was a Minister, he was frequently called the Reverend de Kauffmann."

WHAT'S IN A NAME

Diplomats accredited to La Paz worked overtime trying to memorize the name of Bolivia's new Foreign Minister. It is Mamerto Urriolagoytia, though he is known as "Mummy" for short by the more irreverent members of the Anglo-Saxon missions.

ECUADOR'S LEADERSHIP

The Consuls of Ecuador have just received instructions to exclude all "violators of international peace" from among applicants for immigration visas. Ecuador's example is all the more noteworthy because war criminals are turning up in increasing numbers in Argentina, El Salvador, and even Brazil, lately a favorite haven of Hungarian reactionaries. Among recent arrivals in Rio de Janeiro was Archduke Albrecht of Hapsburg, wanted by the Hungarian Government as a war criminal. Only a last minute intervention of democratic Hungarians in New York saved the United States from the embarrassment of admitting Nicholas Horthy, Jr., who planned to peddle his father's memoirs to an eager American publisher.

The new category of "war criminals" in Ecuador's revamped immigration laws is added to former categories of persons whose admittance to the republic is barred. These are professional beggars, habitual criminals, certified lunatics, and tramps.

BRITAIN'S AMBASSADORS

The British Foreign Service is astir over the news that living allowances of Foreign Service officers will be revised and radically cut in line with Britain's new austerity drive. If and when these cuts become effective, they will hit members of the British Foreign Service extremely hard. The base pay of British diplomats is among the lowest in the world.

It is not expected, however, that these reductions will affect the greatest allowances of them all—those paid to His Majesty's top ambassadors. British envoys are, indeed, recipients of exceptionally lavish allowances—unvouchered funds which their Excellencies can spend at their own discretion. It is well known that the British Ambassador to Washington is the best-paid diplomat in the world. Lord Inverchapel is paid an annual $70,000 for what the Foreign Office discreetly calls *frais de représentation.* His second-in-command, Sir John Balfour, receives an allowance of $10,000. a sum exceeding his Ministerial base pay by $2,000.

An Echo of Gladstone

The British Ambassador in Paris draws an allowance of $64,000, while his salary amounts to only $15,000. Huge allowances are paid to two British Ambassadors in Latin America—in Argentina and in Brazil. It is significant that seven of Britain's twelve best-endowed ambassadors are assigned to the Middle East, from Greece to Iran. Their cumulative allowances total a yearly $168,200, the ambassador in Turkey receiving $36,000, his colleague in Egypt $35,600, and Sir Hugh Stonehewer-Bird, Ambassador to Iraq, an annual $22,800. A lot of succulent *pilaf* can be bought for these hard-to-get pounds sterling.

British diplomats are traditionally noted for their skill in paying the right sum to the right person. It is a proud saying in the British Foreign Service that no Ambassador has ever grown rich in his post. Lord Templewood, recently Ambassador to Spain, found his allowance of $14,000 far too inadequate in a country where the Moorish custom of *backshish* is still very much in evidence.

Paraphrasing Gladstone's famous remark, the former Sir Samuel Hoare said: "When you consider His Majesty's Ambassadors, you may truthfully say that the rich never grow richer, but the poor do indeed become very poor."

DANISH ENGINES FOR FRANCO?

The Soviet Minister in Copenhagen is drafting a *démarche* in protest against alleged Spanish orders placed with the Danish firm of Burmeister & Wain for engines to be fitted into Franco's gunboats now building at the Cartagena Navy Yard. The private Danish-Spanish deal is said to be embarrassing to the Copenhagen Foreign Office which plans to hold up shipment by refusing to grant the necessary export license.

CLOSED SHOP

While Britain and France have abolished visas for their nationals visiting their respective countries, and Whitehall is making a similar offer to the Italian Government, the Franco-Spanish border continues closed to all travelers, including Americans caught in France or Spain by the dispute of the two countries. An American businessman who tried to go to Barcelona from Marseilles and whose passport was formally visaed for Spain, could find no transportation for the trip and had to cross the border *per pedes apostolorum.*

Other Americans traveling from France to Spain usually fly to Portugal and take the plane for Madrid, or go to Geneva and take a Swiss airplane for the non-stop flight to this European Tibet.

Closed frontiers are by no means unusual among European neighbors. For many years, the frontier between Poland and Lithuania was similarly closed when diplomatic relations were interrupted over the notorious Vilna incident.

Diplomatic Notes

WARSAW: The Polish Government charges that 53,000 of the 213,000 Poles remaining in Scotland fought against the Allies on the side of Nazi Germany and were taken prisoner after D-Day. Even so, the British Government is compelled to sustain on pensions these former Axis satellites —from funds allocated to the War Office . . . General Anders of the "London Polish Army" receives a monthly salary of $354.40—also from British War Office funds . . . Further objection is raised to the activities of Count Raczinsky, last ambassador of the Polish Government-in-exile to the Court of St.

James's. Although nominally deposed, Raczinsky continues to wield great influence as the Polish liaison chief of an Interim Treasury Committee which is in overall charge of the Poles in the United Kingdom . . . Even in circles opposed to the Warsaw Government, Raczinsky is regarded as an ultra-conservative and a rabid anti-Semite. His retention in a responsible position is considered unfortunate.

BERNE: A country which succeeded in keeping out of World War II will nevertheless stage its own war crimes trial soon. Switzerland is bringing before its courts scores of its nationals who collaborated with the Nazis during the war . . . Fernando Cisternas is the new Chilean Ambassador to Switzerland . . . The very first German exports since the termination of hostilities have just arrived in Switzerland. They consisted of 270 Ikoflex cameras from the Zeiss Ikon firm in Jena, priced to sell at $45 each in Swiss camera shops.

MOSCOW: An important Soviet geological expedition to be lead by Professor V. A. Bobrichev will soon proceed to Mongolia in search of Uranium . . . Foreign diplomats in Moscow advise their governments that the Soviet Union is experiencing serious domestic difficulties in the Ukraine and Byelo-Russia. Original discontent arising from poor housing conditions and a dearth of food is taking on a political complexion . . . When the Palestine issue comes up before the UN, Soviet delegates are expected to give qualified support to Arab spokesmen. They will also aid Egypt's case against Britain . . . In this connection, British delegates to the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers noted the Russia-wide publicity given to a letter Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote Molotov expressing India's thanks to the U.S.S.R. for its support in the UN last fall.

WASHINGTON: Passers-by on Washington's F Street were witness to the fact that General George C. Marshall wasted no time or money getting into mufti. They saw him shopping for civilian clothes (minus striped trousers and spats) in one of the town's modestly priced haberdashers. Our own diplomatic observer waited for Marshall to complete his purchase and then saw him emerge wearing a brand new gray Homburg and carrying his package under his arm, back to the State Department.

CANBERRA: A government-controlled "Uranium rush," not unlike the Yukon rush for gold, began on March 8 in remote regions of Australia . . . First Secretary G. S. Pashchenko of the Soviet Legation collects whatever information transpires about Central Australia's hush-hush rocket range, the British Empire's gigantic proving ground for guided missiles. Is Moscow planning to call these experiments to the attention of the Security Council?

PANAMA CITY: If Panamanian Ambassador J. J. Vallarino becomes his country's next President, he will be the fifth Panamanian envoy to the United States to receive this honor. The incumbent, Dr. Enrique Jiménez was Vallarino's predecessor in Washington. Other Panamanian envoys who went home to become their nation's Chief Executives include Dr. Ricardo Alfaro, Dr. Harmodio Arias, and Dr. Augusto Boyd.

MEXICO CITY: When President Miguel Alemán returns President Harry S. Truman's visit in Washington, there will be more on his agenda than parades and public toasts. It is now taken for granted that he will commit his country to the Inter-American military convention, although Mexico in the past was reluctant to join the colors . . . Vicente Lombardo Toledano is reported to be in partial eclipse. His Latin American Confederation of Labor is rapidly losing ground both north and south of the Rio Grande. The Chilean Federation of Labor was the latest member of the group to break diplomatic relations with the Toledano Front . . . Dr. Pedro de Alba, Acting Director General of the Pan American Union until Lleras Camargo's recent election is slated for an Ambassadorial appointment.

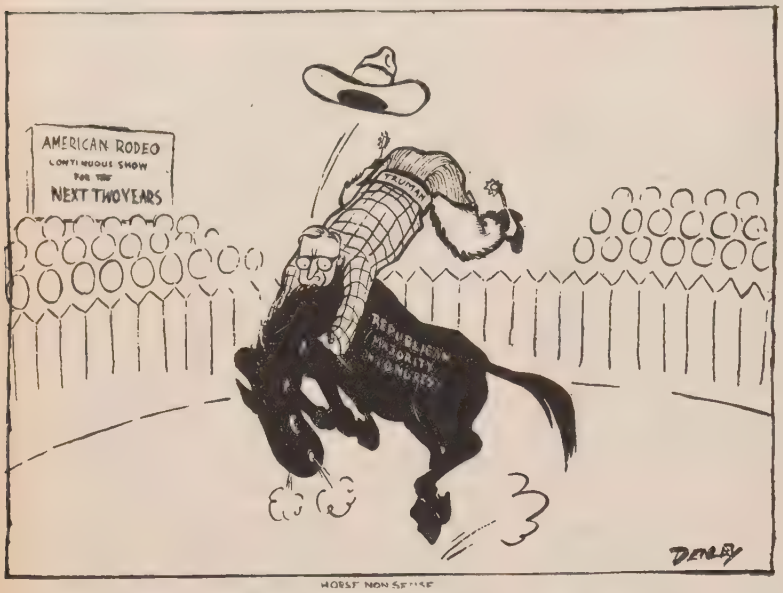
BUENOS AIRES: Argentine Foreign Minister Bramuglia had hoped to neutralize his great adversary Assistant Secretary of State Spruille Braden with a neat diplomatic trick. When the election of a new Director General of the Pan American Union was in the making, Bramuglia instructed the Argentine representative on the Union's Governing Board to campaign *sotto voce* for Braden's election to this office, which has considerable prestige but far less power. Coolest to the compliment was Braden himself. When Alberto Lleras Camargo was unanimously elected to the post left vacant by the death of Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Secretary Braden could well have remarked: "There, but for the grace of Perón, go I."

WASHINGTON: The new Director General of the Pan American Union is a Colombian, as is the present Chairman of the Governing Board, Dr. Antonio Rocha. Believing that two Colombians should not hold command positions in the Union, Rocha resigned on the spot and announced that his government had appointed him Ambassador to Peru. Not only was his resignation rejected by his colleagues, but the Board cabled the Colombian Government to cancel Rocha's nomination to Lima . . . If Rocha does go to Peru, Honduran Ambassador Julian R. Cáceres would follow him in the Chair. Dr. Cáceres is rapidly recuperating from a serious illness.

NEW YORK: Johannes Kaiv, Estonia's Acting Consul General in charge of Legation, is the custodian of four unique diplomatic documents. These diploma-like certificates, signed and sealed by former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, attest that "the absorption of Estonia by the U.S.S.R. is not recognized by the Government of the United States." These documents express graphically the crucial difference between *de jure* and *de facto* in modern diplomatic parlance.

PARIS: The British Government through its Embassy in Paris maintains informal diplomatic relations with the new Republican Government of Spain . . . Similarly informal diplomatic relations are maintained with the Viet-Nam Government through the British Consul General in Saigon.

Points of View... Cartoonists of the World Take Stock



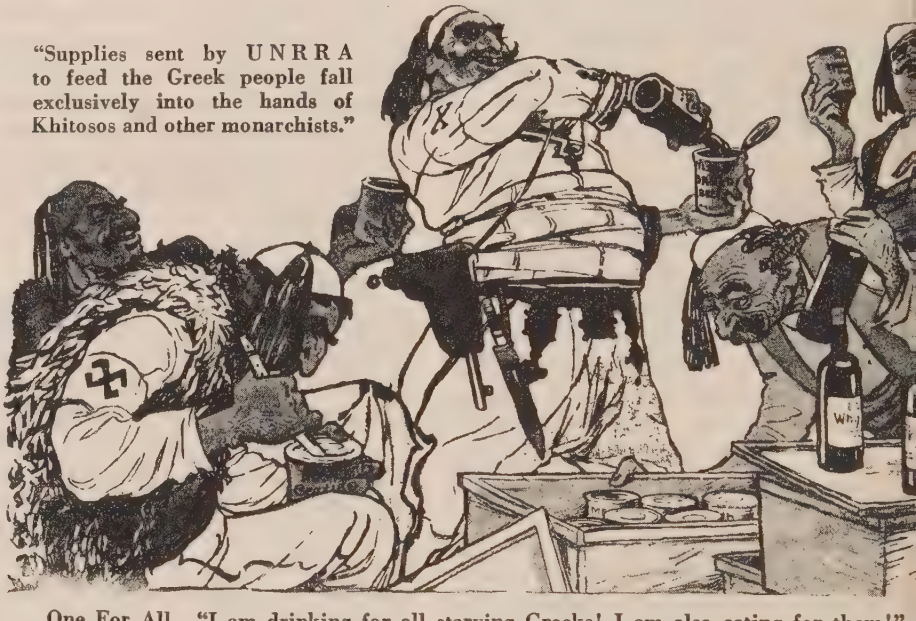
"Horse Nonsense." *Illustrated Weekly of India*, Bombay.

An Indian Comment on the British Raj. *Blitz*, Bombay

CHURCHILL

Churchill: "Now my main job is to write and paint. If I save England once more it will be just as a hobby." *Dagbladet*, Oslo

"Supplies sent by UNRRA to feed the Greek people fall exclusively into the hands of Khitosos and other monarchists."



One For All.—"I am drinking for all starving Greeks! I am also eating for them!" *Krokodil*, Mos

"ITS GREAT TO BE ON THE WINNING SIDE JOHN"
Democracy, Wellington

SPHERE OF INFLUENCE IN THE SOUTH PO

"He will drink vodka!"
"No, he'll chew gum!"

De Nieuwe Standaard, Brus

SOME IRONING OUT TO DO

Gazette, Montreal

LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD

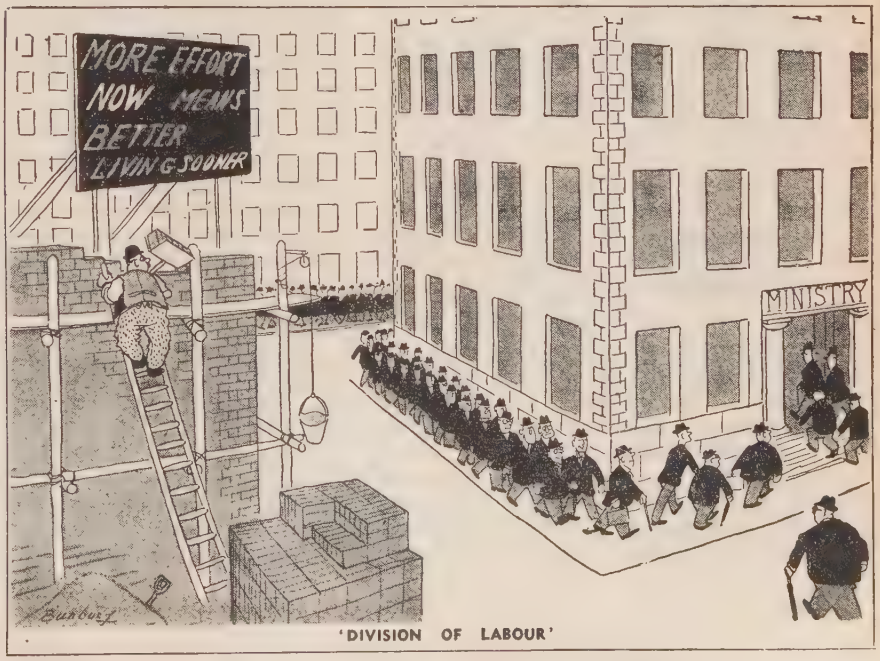
Paysage, Paris

Above: 1946—Perón to John Bull: "I don't buy scrap iron." Below: 1947—John Bull drags away money paid him by Argentine Government for dilapidated British-owned railroads. *Actualidades*, Buenos Aires

"ABOVE THE GROUND—AND UNDER IT."

Above ground: Rest in Peace our Beloved SS, Here Rests the Gestapo, etc.
Below: l. to r. Money from Argentina, Money from Sweden, Money from Switzerland.

De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam



'DIVISION OF LABOUR'

Evening Standard, London

WORLD

International politics, especially President Truman's Balkan policy speech and the Moscow Conference, continued dominant in world radio. Underlying all remarks on the Truman speech was the question: Quo vadis *America? Highlights of the airwave debate are given below as the* United Nations World *presents*

FRANCE

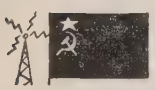
Paris, French home service: "French official circles are observing great reserve regarding Truman's speech . . . One can, nevertheless, stress that it was following a request by Greece and Turkey that the United States decided to help these countries financially and the Quai d'Orsay emphasizes that the position adopted by the United States is legally unassailable and that it would even be difficult for the UN to find a pretext for intervention."

SWEDEN

Stockholm, Swedish home service, talk on Truman by Alfred Oeste: ". . . Judging from the state of mind in the United States . . . the people will presumably approve of the President's suggestions with all the consequences it may have in all parts of the world . . . Even the isolationist papers are now gathering around the otherwise so criticized President.

"Of course, many Congressmen express doubts about this new line. They speak of the probability of a coming World War III. The negotiations in Moscow, no matter how important they are, are completely overshadowed by Truman's message. The delegates there will now have very much more important matters to discuss in private than the future fate of Germany and Austria."

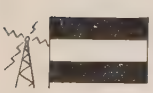
U.S.S.R.



Moscow, in Greek to Europe, commentary on Truman by Semenov: "Curious are the statements emanating from official Washington circles which maintain that the present reactionary regime in Greece represents the people's majority. Such groundless assertions are contrary to the real state of affairs in Greece. You, dear listeners, who today are experiencing the full weight of the present antipopular regime can see more clearly than anybody else how unfounded such statements are. And it is not difficult to guess the significance of these declarations.

"These are necessary in order to place before world public opinion the new attempt by the United States which aims at direct intervention in the internal affairs of Greece and conceals the offensive nature of the American monopolistic circle's plans, which aim at retaining the present reactionary regime in Greece to make her subservient to American capital."

SPAIN



Madrid, Spanish home service, comment on Truman speech by José Ramón Alamuo: "As a symbolic gesture Mr. Truman's speech and order is of special significance but as an efficacious action it is necessary to recognize that it falls short of the main objective: that is, the stopping of Soviet expansion which will eventually threaten the U. S. position. It is not such gestures that check imperialism rolling rapidly along the path of aggression. No speech of Roosevelt had the effect of stopping either Germany or Japan."

GREAT BRITAIN

London, in German to Europe, summary of talk by Karl Anders on Truman speech: "'If the American Government had made the loans without citing political reasons, the fact would have passed almost unnoticed, overshadowed by the Moscow Conference. But the American Government decided to use the loans as an occasion for making its new foreign policy unmistakably clear . . . No matter how one interprets Truman's speech, one thing is clear. The cards are laying face up on the table.'"

In Turkish to the Near East: "The Moscow Newspaper *Pravda,* on the occasion of Red Army Day, published an astonishing article. The paper . . . wrote: 'The Soviet Army, with unequaled effort and all alone in this struggle, crushed Hitler's war machine, liberated nations sighing under its oppression, and victoriously concluded its struggle after Berlin's occupation.'

"The word 'pravda' means truth in Russian. A paper bearing such a name should have devoted one or two sentences . . . to recalling that Russia did not fight by herself, but that she contributed to the fight for an Allied victory. . . . Alexandrov, head of the Propaganda and Education Department of the Communist Party's Executive Committee . . . said in the presence of Stalin and Molotov: 'As is known, the Anglo-American countries passed to military action only when it was realized that the Red Army was capable of occupying the whole of Germany and liberating all European nations without Allied assistance.' . . .

"As a last example of the Russian conception of modern history let us deal with a recent film depicting Stalin's life. . . . This film cruelly ridicules British and French policies during the Munich crisis and gives the impression that the Soviet Union was the only opponent of Fascism after 1938."

TURKEY

Ankara, quoting article in *Ulus* by Nihat Erim entitled "Britain is Stronger than Ever:" "'Moscow and other radio stations which have joined their voices in representing the present British crisis as a decline or collapse are making unforgivable mistakes. Turkey was faced with direct claims by the U.S.S.R. against her territory and moreover was asked for bases in the straits, and a campaign against us has been unleashed in the Arab States and the Balkans. We know the source of this campaign directed against us. They are wasting their energies—particularly those who think Turkey would lose her head under a violent war of nerves are quite mistaken. Turkey does not entertain any evil intentions against any neighboring countries, but a change in policy of defending her prestige and honor and territorial integrity would never occur to Turkey.

"'Any efforts to weaken or belittle the Anglo-Turkish alliance are bound to fail; for Turkey does not intend to remain alone or surrounded by her enemies in this chaotic world.'"

COLOMBIA

Bogota, in Spanish to Colombia: "In regard to the subject of Hemisphere collaboration, the Emergency Consultative Board for the Political Defense of the Hemisphere which has been functioning in Montevideo for some time has made a series of recommendations. Among them is a petition for the American countries to classify as Pan-Americans instead of foreigners, the citizens born in other Republics of the Continent. The Political Defense Committee considers, in making this recommendation, that all those born in the nations of the Continent are Americans in the broadest sense of the word. Therefore, the idea of an American being considered a foreigner by other Americans should be abolished. It appears that the final objective of the statement is to create a continental citizenship."

SWITZERLAND

Berne, in English to North America, commentary by Pierre Corday: " . . . the Soviet request to have the Chinese question put on the agenda is not exactly a step which will accelerate the work of the (foreign ministers') conference . . . It would be interesting to know the motives which may have incited the Russian diplomats to make this step. . . . It is an undeniable fact that Russia always has to keep an eye on what happens both east and west of her territory. It can also not be denied that on both sides, in the east and in the west, Russia's interests are facing those of the Americans. Therefore, it is understandable to a certain extent that the Russians would like to discuss the problems which are to be settled on both sides of their country. The Soviet Union has probably wished to open a second diplomatic front.

KOREA

Pyongang (U.S.S.R. zone), in Korean: "The election of the north Korean village and dong people's committees . . . ended in a great victory with 99.7 percent of the total eligible voters attending. There are many inspiring stories behind this achievement. According to . . . our correspondent . . . in Kangwon province, Lee Ik Po, age 78, residing in Kwanchawl village . . . was seriously ill. When a voting card was brought to him at his sick bed on election day . . . he opened his eyes and voted in tears. After that, he passed away with a satisfied expression.

RADIO

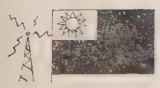
its regular monthly review of World Radio. Other radio trends: London hit out at Pravda. . . . Guatemala attacked a British M.P. who suggested that part of British Honduras be sold to the U. S. . . . A Swiss speaker called Molotov's proposal that China be discussed at Moscow a "second diplomatic front."

UNITED STATES

New York, National Broadcasting Company, shortwave in English to Europe: ". . . Some press comment takes the position that the issues among the Big Four (at Moscow) are fixed and incapable of change. . . . The same view has been advanced about conferences in the past. . . . Yet the conferences often ran their course with an almost impudent disregard of press comment. So that, at the end of them, one or another nation had changed its position . . . so that they emerged with workable agreements on disputed questions.

". . . Defeatism, by the way, is not bashful about feeding on trifles. . . . For instance, some reporters of the Moscow scene professed to see enormous significance in the kind of reception given to Foreign Secretary Bevin and to Secretary of State Marshall on their arrival in the Russian capital. The first accounts of Bevin's arrival noted that the railway station was decked with British and Soviet flags and that a red carpet was rolled out for the foreign secretary to walk on. This seemed quite friendly and in keeping with the occasion. Then later reports . . . began to suggest that something was amiss. Previous visitors to Moscow . . . had brass bands to greet them. How come no brass bands for Bevin? The question was given an almost sinister implication. What? Nothing but flags and a beat-up old red carpet?"

CHINA



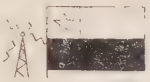
Shanghai, in English to the Far East: "On purely rational lines, the implication of the Truman speech is that, United Nations or no United Nations, wherever the United States feels that her security is menaced, she will act on her own accord. It means that Truman has asked for an America-first policy whatsoever be the risk involved. The only modern foreign policy speech with which Truman's latest declaration can be classed is obviously the late President Roosevelt's quarantine speech in Chicago over a decade ago, when the United States formally aligned itself with the democracies against fascism. It means that the Rooseveltian concept of the United States as the arsenal of democracy has been replaced by Truman's concept of the American people as the shock troops of democracy."

AUSTRALIA

Melbourne, Australian Home Service, commentary on speech by Dr. Evatt, Minister For External Affairs, calling for close cooperation with countries of Southeast Asia: "A possible development of Dr. Evatt's statement yesterday on international affairs will be the calling of a conference in Australia this year of India and the countries of Southeast Asia and parts of the Pacific. . . . The movement toward self-government in India and the Asiatic countries underlines the need for Australia's developing her relationships with these countries. It was pointed out in Canberra today that the aim of such a conference would not be to form a Southeast Asian bloc—it would be more to develop trade and cultural relationships although defense could be discussed. If these were developed, all countries would have gone a long way towards understanding each other's aims.

"The economies of Australia and these countries dovetail. Australia can supply them with many manufactured articles and other goods while they can send us oil, tea, rubber and many other raw materials."

CHILE



Santiago de Chile, in Spanish: "It is telegraphed from Buenos Aires that the organization of employees supporting Perón has made a violent reply to the unfavorable report on his labor policy, made public in the United States by the mission of the American Federation of Labor. The General Federation of Commercial Workers . . . declares that the AFL report was inspired by the principal opponent to Perón in the United States, the Assistant Secretary of State for matters of American action, Spruille Braden.

"A long declaration of the federation accuses the North American mission of spending the time enjoying themselves on Argentine hospitality instead of seeking the truth. Undoubtedly, the North American laborers could not have written this report. Another hand and another thought have produced the infamous document. The North American delegation, which so unjustly criticized the Argentine workers for receiving instructions from Perón, went to get orders from Braden."

CUBA

Santiago de Cuba, in Spanish: "Deputy Dr. José Rivas believes that since the United States has established a system of international collaboration in the case of 'Lucky' Luciano, this policy should not be of a unilateral nature. He made the following statement to a correspondent: 'I am going to suggest that the President of the Republic immobilize all shipments of sugar to the United States until José Martínez, expelled from Cuba, head of the black market in sugar in the United States and residing in Miami, shall be repatriated to . . . the land of his origin.'"

INDIA

New Delhi, Indian Home Service, in English: "In the Central Assembly . . . Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Finance Minister of the Interim Government, warned the Indian industrialists that if they did not help, industrialization of the country would stop and the Government would start a large-scale program of state-owned industries. . . . (He) said that in the changing India of today, businessmen should not hope to get all the huge profits to which they were accustomed during the war. They must all make sacrifices in the interest of the masses. If they did not prove helpful, the Government would industrialize the country as other nations, like Russia, had done."

INDONESIA

Voice of Free Indonesia, in English to Australia and Southeast Asia: "The Dutch people should be much astonished to hear that over there in Indonesia, which in their own way they have supposed to be a land of extremists and Islam fanatics, fredom of religion is a fact. No wonder the Dutch journalist and member of Parliament (J. Khuthardt), on his tour through the interior of Java . . . was surprised when he saw . . . a Catholic priest and a Moslem representative chatting together like good friends. . . . And he was even more surprised to know that Catholic youngsters, together with Protestants and Moslems, are shoulder-to-shoulder defending their country . . . and that no Catholic or any other churches have been demolished by so-called Moslem Fanatics.

Indeed, unlike in India, where religious differences make smooth and united cooperation difficult, internal strife on a religious basis does not exist any more, which is clear proof that free Indonesia, and free Indonesians, are more capable of making peace among the adherents of different religions than the Dutch."

GUATEMALA

In Spanish to Guatemala, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Bulletin: "The local press published a report given out by competent news sources according to which Mr. Martin Cook, Labor Member of the British Parliament, . . . proposed in the House of Commons that Great Britain sell Belize (in British Honduras) to the United States . . . in exchange for capital and material which she needs urgently. . . . Great Britain must return Belize, and also repay the republic justly for the long retention of the territory; and any unilateral exchange which Great Britain might claim to make in the present affair would be contrary to international law, because it comes under the head of disputed territory. The Government of Guatemala cannot admit that Great Britain has the right to sell or . . . trade this territory, since Guatemala precisely claims sovereignty over it."

World

THE UNW here presents its regular monthly digest of world publications—an intriguing mirror of trends, thoughts and events in all quarters of the globe. Highlights of the comments: Britain's* Manchester Guardian *compares the new U. S. foreign policy in Greece and Turkey with Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase. . . . A Norwegian commentator suggests Spitzbergen as a "bridge" between East and West. . . . A Brus-

HARIJAN

Under the heading "Shrirampur Diary," *Harijan*, Gandhi's famous little weekly, now edited by Pyarelal, reports the Mahatma's peace tour. It began with his visit to Shrirampur with two of his party, the others having each chosen a separate village where they were to "mix with the local people and gradually create an atmosphere such that the refugees from here could shed their fear and be able to come back and live in friendship and peace once more." Some Moslems invited Gandhi to their homes, and others came to his prayer meetings, where prayers included verses not only from Hindu, but also Moslem, Zoroastrian and Buddhist scriptures and even a hymn by Isaac Watts. Gandhi was encouraging all Hindu refugees to return to their homes in Moslem villages with faith and courage in their hearts.

AMERICA

An article in the Cuban magazine *América* on Latin America's future role in the world urges that the United States make two kinds of loans to southern republics, one for education, the other for economic purposes. "Wouldn't the nation," asks the author, "which spent hundreds of billions of dollars to win the war . . . be willing to make a less demanding and, in the long run, a more constructive effort to enable its own continent to mobilize its natural wealth and its potential moral and material greatness?"

THE CANADIAN FORUM

Donald C. MacDonald, writing in the Toronto *Forum* on "Labor and the Empire," rejoices that the British Labor Government is offering increasing self-government to colonial territories but considers "bold economic experiments" also necessary in view of the distressing poverty in the colonies. "Labor's greatest task is to overcome the inertia of a complex colonial machinery; to harness the unrest of a revolutionary age for constructive change; and to achieve that new tempo in colonial affairs before it is too late."

הארץ

The widely read Zionist daily *Haaretz*, Tel Aviv, complains that Palestine authorities, instead of bending every effort to avoid unemployment, as elsewhere, are actually bringing on an economic crisis and creating an army of unemployed. Both the British government and the Jewish Agency, it says, should take steps to build up prestige and come before the UN with clean hands, the former by increasing the quota of Jewish immigrants, the latter by a vigorous campaign to suppress terror, thus proving its claim to speak as an authoritative Jewish body. "If common sense and intelligence were to dominate the situation before it is too late, instead of irascibility and weakness parading as strength, a way out could be found, at least during the interim period."

The Manchester Guardian Weekly

"Potsdam has to be reviewed and reinterpreted," declares the leading editorial in *The Manchester Guardian Weekly*. If final German settlement is not decided upon in outline at Moscow, it adds, West and East must go ahead separately; but the change in U. S. foreign policy is expected to have its effect on the "realists" of the USSR. "As Jefferson's purchase irrevocably carried the Thirteen Colonies across to the Pacific, so a decision to help Britain in Greece would mean . . . that there are limits beyond which the United States would not see Europe and the strategic points of the world brought under the domination of an aggressive power."

DIE NEUE ZEITUNG

An "American newspaper published for the German population," in Munich, *Die Neue Zeitung* continues its sponsorship of correspondence between German and American youth organizations—a campaign which, brought in a veritable avalanche of letters. A special branch of the U. S. Office of Education forwards the letters, together with "directives", reminding the American recipients that the correspondence is aimed at an increase of knowledge and mutual understanding, and serves no propaganda purposes. "The German youth," the *Neue Zeitung* concludes, "will thus be enabled to do its part toward making this correspondence bear fruit in Germany as well."

New York Herald Tribune

Walter Lippmann, writing in the New York *Herald Tribune*, deplores the fact that Truman's policy on Greece was discussed beforehand only with the British Government and not also with the French, the Chinese, and the Russian, within the framework of the UN. "Because the UN is *unable to act collectively*, it does not follow that we have *the right to act unilaterally*, or that even if we have the right, it is wise to exercise it." Keeping the UN informed "would at once rehabilitate the moral authority of the United Nations and would not interfere with the efficiency of our action . . . since in Greece the U. S. will set up a "demonstration of how we think a weak country which is strategically important, should be treated by a great power." Not to act within the United Nations "would be to aggravate our difficulties and to miss a golden opportunity."

Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant ALGEMEEN HANDELSBLAD

The aviation correspondent of the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, one of Amsterdam's leading dailies, reveals that the Netherlands will soon manufacture its own jet-propelled aircraft. Quoting the President of the Fokker Aircraft Factory, he writes: "The aircraft will be a training plane with a speed of 700 kilometers an hour. In addition, the Fokker Works are now building other modern designs and a number of two-seater planes for the Friets Diepen Company."

tvorba

Tvorba, cultural and political weekly, Prague, rejoices over the achievements of the first month of Czechoslovakia's two-year plan, which aims to increase industrial output to 110 percent of prewar levels. Output has already increased from 80 percent in November 1946 to 94 percent in January this year. Coal production was up 9.6 percent above the November figure in one area, and as much as 35 percent in Kladno, which thus had nearly achieved its prewar level. "We were all happily surprised when we exceeded our January quotas by four percent. Up to now, we had made plans without knowing how far we would be able to carry them out. Now we can state . . . that we really accomplished it. That means a great success for our whole economy."

New Zealand Free Lance

Fijian problems are discussed in the weekly *New Zealand Free Lance*, Wellington, in the course of an interview with Rev. S. G. Andrews, a New Zealander home on furlough from the British Crown Colony of Fiji. Hinting at probable repercussions when India secures its independence, the journal explains that "Fiji is virtually a microcosm of that vast and turbulent country and within its confines Indians are outstripping Fijians [in population] at a rapid rate." New economic currents it adds, are stirring in the islands, which are now on the lookout for new export trade to help raise the standard of living. Moreover, the government is starting to take over education, a field hitherto left to missionaries, "and the manner in which the new system will work is being watched with interest."

Qué

The Buenos Aires news weekly, *Que*, comments on the "exodus" of the country's leading theatrical talent. Because the government controls labor unions, ignoring the Argentine Society of Actors; because actors are hindered in their work; and because of and for "many other well-known reasons," many actors and actresses plan to go to Europe and to other American countries. "And," says the magazine, "those already abroad show no desire to come back."

Press

sels magazine contends that the principle of a UN trusteeship should be extended to Antarctica. From a Moscow journal comes a reiteration of the charge that the U. S. and Britain are setting up strategic bases as a means of exerting "foreign pressure on internal affairs" of other nations. Other events under discussion: Gandhi's recent "peace tour" . . . Czechoslovakia's Two-year Plan . . . Bulgaria's budget.

EUROPE

Paul le Rolland, Director of Technical Education of France, in the Parisian monthly *Europe*, insists on the importance of adapting the French educational system to the requirements of modern technique to the end of creating a technical humanism. He describes the plans for reform in the French educational system, of which the most important aspect is the great attention to be paid to manual labor. From the earliest age up to the age of 18 years, a child will receive considerable training in technical processes, in conformity with his aptitudes, which will be closely observed. Those who show particular ability will then be directed toward engineering and other higher schools, so as to equip France with a technically well-trained youth.

"School," says Mr. Le Rolland, "must safeguard by culture the great dignity of the human being and of the worker. It must, by teaching, protect the child against the compulsions of the craft as well as against misery and slavery."

KUVVET

Marshal Favzi Cakmak, a close associate of Ataturk during revolutionary days and for two decades chief of the Turkish General Staff, granted an interview to *Kuvvet*, Turkish opposition daily, to refute charges levelled against him by the Minister of the Interior on the floor of the National Assembly. The Marshal, who is one of Turkey's most respected soldier-statesmen, declared that "the present regime represents any democratic development in Turkey as a Communistic move." Similarly, he added, the great services of two other ex-Cabinet members, former Foreign and Interior Ministers, are also obscured by branding them Communists.

Merdeka

Merdeka ("Freedom"), daily newspaper of the Indonesian Republic published in Batavia, discusses postal, radio and telephone services, now fast coming under the control of the new government. The Dutch, says this article, are still trying to intercept foreign letters, excepting air-mail; but the Republic is in control of internal mail and has issued its own stamps. Republican postal services use Batavia's ancient name "Djakarta" for the capital, as well as "Indonesia" instead of "Netherlands East Indies." Recently, radio-telephone service was opened betwen Java and Sumatra. In short: "Every effort is being made to build up a well-organized and efficient system of communications which will be in good running order by the time the authority of the Republic is established."

REVISTA DE AMERICA

"Never in the history of orchestral music, has any individual been as severely criticized and as glowingly praised as Leopold Stokowski," according to an article in *Revista de América*, leading Colombian magazine. Pointing out that his records will enable future generations to decide where his charlatanism—if it exists—ends and his musicianship begins, the article says: "Perhaps then people will realize that his posing and attitudes are the defects of his times, publicity tricks which merchants of one product or another use in this age of publicity. . . . Since he conducted the New York Philharmonic Orchestra this season, the old battle over Stokowski is raging . . . but one thing is clear—the orchestra responded to him as it has responded only to the magnetism of Arturo Toscanini."

Magyar Nemzet

Writing in *Magyar Nemzet*, of Budapest, a semi-official organ of the Small Landholders Party, George Parragi defends the majority group in the Hungarian Parliament against accusations of participation in the recent conspiracy against the Hungarian Republic. "In fact," he says, "the plot was directed against the Small Landholders Party itself into which the conspirators succeeded in penetrating. They have failed in their effort to turn the Party into a bulwark of reaction and others will fail too, as long as the policies of the Party are in the tried hands of Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy." Parragi has no words of defense for the conspirators, whose number, he says, include Bela Kovacs, secretary-general of the Small Landholders Party, but urges his readers to view the plot in a proper perspective and refrain from attributing too great significance to an "infantile attempt of diseased brains at anarchism."

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

"D.D.94," advertising in *Tagesspiegel*, Berlin paper (U. S. sector) whose motto is *Rerum cognoscere causas*, offers a "microscope and 12 beer glasses for sale." "K. O. 11,710," apparently a booking agent, advertises for vaudeville performers to appear in a three-ring circus. Karl Schulze, Berlin's famous private detective, is back in business and is all ready to shadow people for a small fee. Herr Oskar Fahrenkrug is available for consultation on how to get from one occupied zone to another, a pastime for which the Germans coined the word *Interzonenverkehr*. A motion picture theater called "Quick" features James Mason in *The Seventh Veil*.

МИРОВОЕ ХОЗЯЙСТВО
МИРОВАЯ ПОЛИТИКА

Writing in the monthly Soviet review *World Economy and World Politics*, V. Cheprakov appraises the strategic base programs of capitalist countries as an indication of the post-war armaments race and of the strengthening of imperialist, expansionist tendencies in British and American polices. He states: "The development of networks of strategic bases is being carried out under the cover of a vast campaign about their so-called "defensive' nature, about the necessity of their creation from the point of view of 'security'." "In reality, however, the seizure and building of strategic bases constitute the preparation of springboards for offensive action."

"American and British bases and garrisons on the territory of other countries are used as a means of exerting foreign pressure on internal affairs of these countries, and in some cases creating a foreign threat to neighbors."

DE SPECTATOR

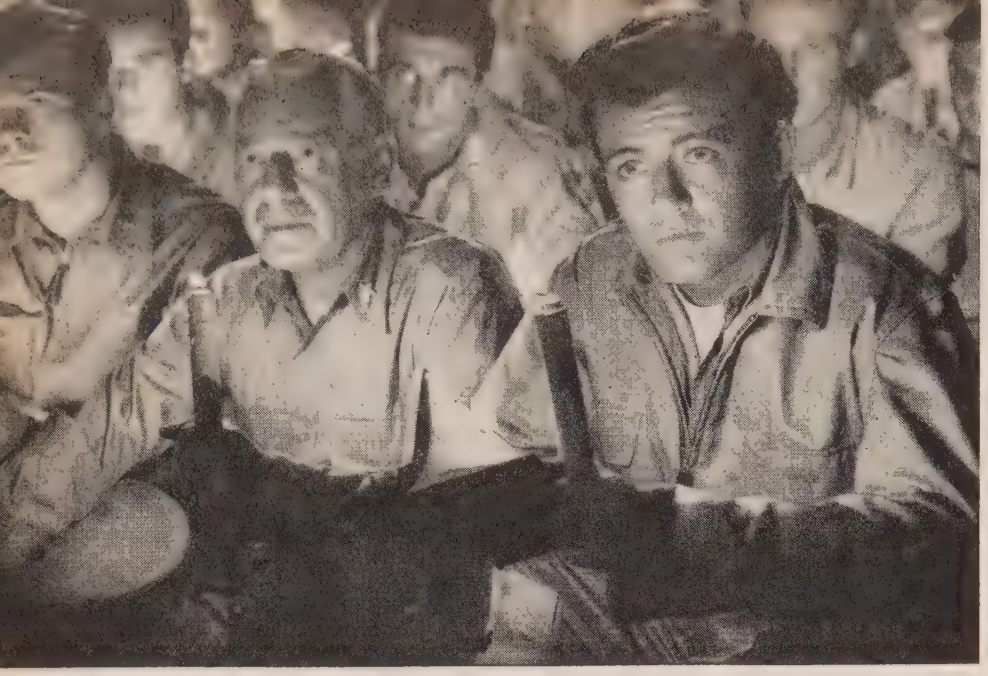
In an article in the Brussels *Spectator*, entitled "Strategic World Peace," E. Troch discusses the international race for territory in the polar regions. "There are eight countries in the running for a part of the Polar regions—England, the U. S., Australia, U.S.S.R., Argentina, South Africa, Chile and Norway," he writes. The U. S. Under-Secretary of State Dean Acheson has officially claimed a million square miles of the Sixth Continent (the Antarctic) while Australia also officially says it will be satisfied with 2½ million square miles. "It apparently has never occurred to any of these nations that this uninhabited region is an ideal area in which to institute the principle of UNO trusteeship."

VERDENS GANG

"Spitzbergen Must Serve The Peace," is the title of an article by Tore Gjelsvik, in the independent Oslo daily *Verdens Gang*, dealing with Norway's position as a bridge between East and West. Since Greenland and Spitzbergen are more suited to be used for attack than for defense, they should be kept out of the hands of the great powers. As a small nation owning one of these polar bases, "Norway must as soon as possible initiate deliberations with Denmark and Iceland for joint action in the UN."

ОТЕЧЕСТВЕН ФРОНТ

Outlining Bulgaria's new 55-billion-leva budget to a correspondent of *Otechestven Front*, the Dimitrof Government's official daily in Sofia, Finance Minister Professor Ivan Stefanov claims credit for the fact that for the first time in many years, the budget will be balanced. He levels bitter accusations against the leaders of the opposition who "are trying by all means available to them to misrepresent the new taxes imposed on landowners or peasants possessing considerable quantities of livestock," and denies rumors that surplus properties will be confiscated or that the imposition of taxes is tantamount to eventual confiscation.



A scene from the atomic film, *The Beginning or the End*, showing the tension of the U. S. pilots just before they take off to drop the bomb on Nagasaki

Movies and Theater

THE STORY OF THE ATOMIC BOMB

By RUTH RIVKIN

THE *Beginning or the End*, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's film of the story of the atom bomb, had simultaneous openings last month in Washington, London, New York, Ottawa and Sydney. Although the most visual means of communication carries out its duty and obligation to give the man-in-the-street a simple explanation of nuclear fission, the film stops far short of the more important aspect of this greatest of all inventions—namely, to emphasize the implications of the uses of atomic energy on our lives.

This picture (screenplay by Frank Wead, original story by Robert Considine, directed by Norman Taurog, produced by Samuel Marx), "stars" Brian Donlevy and Robert Walker, but the main concern and the most dramatic item of the piece is, naturally, the atom bomb itself.

The opening scenes show some of the early experiments with nuclear chain reaction and proceed to the famous Chicago "brickpile" test referred to by Arthur H. Compton in the February issue of UNITED NATIONS WORLD. Then is seen some of the Oak Ridge work, next the exciting and terrifying Los Alamos bomb test and last the fateful bomb dropping on Hiroshima. The difficulty of combining a factual documentation with a fictional love story has not been overcome with great success; but this is relatively unimportant, since the factual material is presented in a clear and even dramatic manner with the sequences of the successful chain reaction and the desert test outstandingly done.

Atomic Peril—A Threat Unstressed

THE great and glaring defect of the picture is not in what it says but in what it does *not* say. It is perhaps unconscious cynicism on the part of the picture-makers that the young scientist (played by Tom Drake) who, almost alone among the characters, seems to realize the implications of the good or evil that atomic energy can accomplish in the future, is the man who dies. Unfortunately his death is almost a ritualistic sacrifice to the terrible magic of the discovery while the military figures who see in it the means to conquer—end the war fast, keep the victor the victor, use it "practically" and pragmatically—continue to live their hale and hearty undisturbed lives. All that is left of the young scientist's small voice is a letter which is read to his bereaved young wife warning her, and the audience, that atomic energy may be the beginning of something great or the end of our civilization.

This inadequate tag to the powerful forces which the film presents by implication is probably the reason for its weakness. Not that one musn't give the producers "A" for sincerity. But the impression that the picture presents that the U.S. and the U.S. alone has the copyright on the bomb—or at least is so far ahead that other are out of sight—is pure nonsense.

ALTHOUGH the film's scientific technical advisors are from Oak Ridge and Los Alamos and belong to the Federation of American Scientists, the film ignores most of the reports written by scientists after 1945, such as "A Report on the International Control of Atomic Energy" and "One World or None." In these reports the international aspect of atomic energy is constantly emphasized; it is stressed over and over again that not only have almost incredible advances been made in the development of newer and greater atom bombs, but the possibilities are more terrifying daily of the fate of all nations unless once and for all we remember that atomic energy, if used solely for military purposes, will cause total destruction of everyone and everything.

INTERNATIONAL FILM NOTES

Britain

SIR HENRY FRENCH, director-general of The British Film Producers Association, has asked the Board of Trade to protect British producers against the $80,000,000 which Hollywood collects annually from British film rentals. . . . Gerald S. Mayer of the U. S. Motion Picture Export Association felt the British would drop their demands for a quota on U. S. films if the U. S. exhibitors could guarantee British films an annual gross of $10,000,000 . . .

The British Film Industry Employees Council, representing all movie labor unions, attacked the agreement between Warner Bros. and Associated British Pictures and petitioned the government to oust Hollywood from "dominance in the British film market." . . . Gabriel Pascal, motion picture producer of the G. B. Shaw plays, stated: "I can make pictures in Hollywood much faster and more economically than I can make them in England. British studios don't have the facilities that Hollywood has."

Germany

IRVING MAAS, back in the U. S. from a three months' tour of the continent for the Motion Picture Export Association, warned that the German film industry is being revived too quickly without sufficient supervision. He said that German production will

reach 50 to 60 films in 1947 while in their best prewar years they never made more than 100. . . . Producer Erich Pommer wants to increase his schedule of 8 films to 20.

Czechoslovakia

TWENTY-SEVEN features have been set to go this year by the state-controlled Czechoslovak Motion Picture Company. Only 11 films were released in 1946, three of which were made under Nazi occupation. Screenplays made are selected by the Artistic Film Board (FIUS) whose members are appointed by the Minister of Information. Chairman of FIUS is writer George Maranek and other members are from the ranks of authors, directors, musicians, actors, cameramen and architects. The main problem the FIUS has is to select material which will make Czechoslovakia look good abroad. The Barandov studios, according to U. S. observers, are among the best in Europe.

Argentina

JUAN BARCIA, president of Productores y Artistas de América, S. A., in Buenos Aires, revealed that his firm expects to market several English-language versions (made bilingually) with a projected schedule of six films for this year. Dolores Del Rio, Barcia said, will be starred in one. Barcia has been in the U. S. talking distribution deals with major distributing companies. . . . President Juan D. Perón stated he would like to expand domestic production but did not think raising the quota on imported films would help achieve this . . . current quota system in force here now provides that all first-run theaters of over 2,500 seats must show a domestic film one week in every two months. Other first-run and all B. A. theaters must show one Argentine film every month and all other show houses must run the local product two weeks out of each five. But, until recently, the raw stock situation was so critical that it was impossible to enforce the quota.

Poland

FILMS POLSKI has signed a deal with the Motion Picture Export Association for the exhibition of 65 Hollywood features in 1947. . . . Out of 80 theaters in Warsaw before the war, all but five are gone.

Netherlands

THE law limiting playing time of Hollywood pictures to 28 weeks per year per theater is opposed by Dutch exhibitors and the U. S. Embassy has protested to the Netherlandsche Bioscoop Bond. . . . Sixty per cent of the $2,400,000 allocated by Holland for film remittances goes to U. S.

India

IMPORT quotas here allow U. S. companies to send in 75 per cent of the films they delivered before the war, although British companies are still allowed 100 per cent.

U.S.S.R.

NO American product has been bought here in the last nine months, but deals are being discussed between U. S.'s MPEA and the proper authorities in Moscow. . . . Talk around cinema circles alleges that Eisenstein has no heart trouble and Pudovkin has no stomach ulcers but that both of these top-flight producer-directors are sitting out a switch in propaganda trends.

TRIBULATIONS OF FRENCH PRODUCERS

By LAURA VITRAY

THE postwar economic difficulties that have affected every sector of French activity have nowhere been more profoundly felt than in the theater and in motion pictures. France easily excels in the theatre arts, and there has been no eclipse of French genius. Yet people here talk of the theatre and the French cinema facing a threat of extinction.

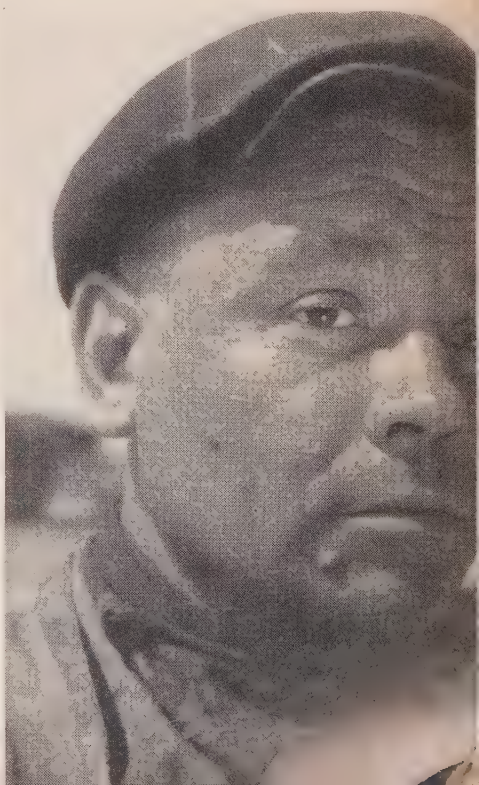
Both played to capacity houses this winter, without very often succeeding in buckling the budget for all that. For while the French motion picture industry, to quote one of its leaders, is "in the process of being devoured by the American minotaur," the theaters and cinema houses alike are weighed down by heavy government taxation that makes solvency almost impossible. Louis Jouvet, for instance, played *La Folle de Chaillot* (The Fool of Chaillot) for months at the *Théâtre de l'Athenée* with unwavering popularity; yet without government subvention this brilliant piece by Jean Girardouv would very early have been withdrawn. It has now disappeared from the boards in favor of a Jouvet presentation of *L'Ecole des Femmes* (The School for Women).

This is just one example of a paradoxical situation in which what the Government takes with the right hand it attempts to restore with the left.

Revolt in the Comédie Française

MEANWHILE even the government-supported national theater, the *Comédie Française*, is now riding stormy seas. Last autumn the *Comédie Française* underwent a drastic reorganization. For a long time it had felt the competition of some of the other theaters whose able directors—men like Jouvet, Gaston Baty, Charles Dullin—seemed possessed of inexhaustible resources of inspiration and enthusiasm, even while their pocketbooks ran dry. The *Comédie Française* sometimes also suffered from the fact that many of its most notable actors, who while enjoying a modest lifetime security due to their status as wards or *pensionnaires*, were tied up with motion picture contracts which prevented them from giving their time to the *Comédie*. To parry this, the *Comédie's* direction decreed that an important proportion of the cinema earnings of its actor *pensionnaires* would revert to itself. This was the signal for the major walkout last fall, in which it lost some of its best talent: Marie Bell, Madeleine Renaud, Renée Faure, Aimé Clariond, Jean-Louis Barrault. Their defection supplied the *Comédie* with the motivation for sweeping organizational changes. The Odéon, "second national theater" became the "Salle Luxembourg" of the *Comédie Française*, while the original *Comédie* was given the added designation "Salle Richelieu."

THE plan followed has been to continue the classic repertory, as traditionally, at the Salle Richelieu, while presenting great modern plays at the Salle Luxembourg. This has been done with the help of a new batch of *pensionnaires*. But whichever way you look, the first season of the reorganized *Comédie Française* has not been particularly encouraging. Probably the best achievement of the Salle Richelieu has been its presentation of the plays of Marivaux, in connection with the 259th



A fighter in *La Bataille des Rails*, French film on the railroad resistance during the Nazi occupation

Jean-Louis Barrault as Hamlet, in André Gide's translation of Shakespeare's play

anniversary of his birth. The renamed Odéon does not seem to attract easily either the devotees of the *Comédie*, or that other portion of the French public which prefers the modern plays. The offerings have included François Mauriac's *Les Mal Rimés*, Salacrou's *Les Fiancés du Havre*, and *Le Lever du Soleil*, by Porché and Simone. Theatergoers have seemed to give their support more readily to those actors who withdrew from the *Comédie Française*. This was the case with the superb André Gide translation of *Hamlet* at the Théâtre Marigny, with Jean-Louis Barrault and Madeleine Renaud. The absence of these two great artists has been poignantly felt at the *Comédie*. Yet France, which cares more for the arts than for artistic dissensions, has dug deep into the pocket of its official jeans and brought up a neat financial subvention for Barrault, without which even the crowds that have flocked to the Marigny this winter to see his productions of *Hamlet*, of Marivaux's *Fausses Confidences* (False Confessions) and of Salacrou's *Les Nuits de la Colère* (Nights of Anger), could not have assured their continuance.

Barrault's company is at present rehearsing André Gide's adaptation for the theater of *Le Procés* (The Trial) by the famous Hungarian novelist Franz Kafka, regarded in France as one of the most original and realistic of all German-language authors. *Le Procés* is described glowingly in advance by one critic as "a bomb that is preparing to burst." If all goes well, Barrault hopes to bring the French production to New York next winter.

La Termitière (The Termit House) at the Théâtre Antoine seems to owe its success as much to the magnificent acting of Aimé Clariond (another of the actors who withdrew from the Théâtre Français), as to its author, Bernard Charles Miel. The setting is a gigantic automobile factory in the year 1953; the theme is the spiritual crisis of modern man, caught in the toils of an ever-expanding mechanized society. The French, with their penchant for the arts, have long been intrigued yet repelled by the notion of ultimate social engulfment by the machine age.

Two American plays in translation drew full houses in Paris this winter, but even so did not, it seems likely, solve their directors' economic problems. They were Steinbeck's *Mice and Men* (*Des Souris et des Hommes*), at the Théâtre Edouard VII; and Eugene O'Neill's *Electra*, at the Montparnasse, under the management of Baty. Steinbeck's *Tortilla Flat* was simultaneously showing as a motion picture in Paris. He seems to be an author who has captured the French imagination very strongly at the present time, possibly because he shows an America where all are not millionaires. Human misery can be a stronger bond of sympathy than gold!

Two Brilliant French Films

THE French motion picture situation seems fairly desperate, in spite of many excellent French films. Among the producers' troubles can be listed: 1) "unfair" tactics of the American prôducers, according to the French; 2) reluctance to raise prices to cover costs, because of the danger of discouraging attendance; 3) high taxation on box office receipts; 4) outmoded equipment in the production studios, pointing to the need of important expenditures for modernization.

That is the dark side. On the bright side are such outstanding accomplishments as *La Bataille des Rails* (The Battle of the Railways); or *Farrebique*. These two great films have one thing in common, and it is something that strikes the spectator with almost the impact of a "discovery." They are both played by everyday people, of no acting experience, men and women who bring to the screen the "people's drama," the moving events of their obscure but vastly important lives.

La Bataille des Rails is the story of the Resistance on the French railroads during the German occupation. The situations are based on actual occurrences, and for the most part are enacted by the very men who took part in them in real life. *Farrebique* is the moving story of life on a French farm; in its essence it is the panorama of life itself: the growth of the crops from the seed, the renewal of the generations of man, of the animals, the alternating themes of summer and winter, of love and of death.

IT is greatly to be hoped that the trials and tribulations now afflicting the French film industry will be transitory. For the pictures are more than an "industry," they are in very fact an art: the art of interpretation of one people to another, as well as of a people to itself. Americans need French films, and this they should be made to understand: the American motion picture has paid for its production and given its producers a fat return on their money before it comes to France. For that very reason they are able to offer it here at a price low enough to stifle the French productions. It is the "undercutting" of the American studios that keeps French films from making expenses and therefore, very often, from being produced at all.

A scene from the French film of Steinbeck's *Mice and Men*

The World Bookshelf

THE LITERARY SCENE IN BRAZIL

In keeping with its international character, the United Nations World will from time to time present articles by recognized authorities on literary trends in various countries of the world. The following account of Brazilian writers is the first of the series.

THE publishing houses in Brazil actively participate in the literary life of the country and to some extent determine literary trends. But in spite of the growth of the publishing business, a writer in Brazil cannot make a living out of his trade. Of all the contemporary authors in the country, only two could, if they tried, perhaps support their families on the income derived from their books.

One of these writers is Erico Verissimo, whose novels have been best-sellers ever since he published *Caminhos Cruzados* in 1935 (translated into English in 1944 under the title *Crossroads*). The other is Moneiro Lobato, who crashed into the literary limelight with one of his first novels, *Urupes*, published in 1925—a Faulknerian study of that Brazilian underdog, the man of the hinterland. *Urupes* had the unique distinction of being launched by means of a speech on the floor of Congress. Ruy Barbosa, leader of the opposition and a figure of immense prestige, got up one day holding a copy of *Urupes* in one hand, and proceeded to tell his colleagues that something new and genuine had happened in the country's literary life. Ruy Barbosa's endorsement insured the success of the book.

Making Both Ends Meet

BUT even popular writers like Verissimo or Lobato cannot make both ends meet out of their royalties. They round out their incomes with translations, and hold jobs as literary advisers to big publishing houses. Many writers began as newspapermen, and they never let go of a job that will supplement their income, even though scantily. For a journalist is as miserably underpaid in Brazil as the successful author of a book. Tristao de Athayde, brilliant essayist and the country's foremost literary critic, is the director of a factory. Olegario Mariano, poet laureate, owns a notary public office. But the majority of writers hold little sinecures in federal or state government bureaus.

Yet in spite of these handicaps, the country's writers, especially the younger generation, have made an important and courageous contribution by breaking away from the sterilizing influences of European literature and trying to create something new and true, rooted in the realities of Brazilian life. The present trends in literature (also in painting, music and architecture) go back to the *Semana de Arte Moderna* (Week of Modern Art) held in Sao Paulo in 1922. This gathering of young intellectuals and artists up in arms against the traditional pattern of their elders who bowed to European influence, especially to that of France, gave drive and daring to arts and letters. Determined to find Brazilian motives for Brazilian books and paintings and music, they have produced good works. Since 1922 a number of important novels have been written.

After the Week of Modern Art ended, Raul Bopp set out on muleback toward the Amazon River. He spent some time in the Amazon Basin studying river mythology, folklore and dances, and wrote *Cobra Norato*, which is to this day among the finest books published in either Portuguese or Spanish on the mythology of the Amazon region.

During his overland trip to the Amazon, Bopp discovered and launched on his way to fame Graciliano Ramos, who is today one of the three or four best living novelists of Brazil. Graciliano, as he is known to Brazilians, had tried unsuccessfully to publish a book. Discouraged, he finally gave up his literary ambitions, drifted into local politics and became mayor of Palmeira dos Indios, a minuscule town in the hinterland of Alagoas. At the end of the fiscal year the mayor was supposed to send in a report to the state government. Raul Bopp was going through the state capital when Graciliano's report arrived and he saw it just as it was about to be buried in the official archives.

Bopp filed a story on Graciliano's report as a news item, and it was reproduced in newspapers all over the country. Overnight Graciliano found himself recognized as an important writer. Shortly thereafter José Olympio, the Rio publisher, offered to take his manuscript. Several other books followed in quick succession, and early in 1946 one of them, *Anguish*, came out in English in New York.

Brazil's Interracial Personality

ONE advantage of the objective approach of the young writers to national realities was the research they devoted to the contribution of the Indian and the negro toward the interracial personality of Brazil. But the writers, like the scientists before them, soon realized that the Indian in himself, like the negro, had not much to offer to the cultural pattern. There was indeed a distinctive personality that the country possessed, but this was given by the ethnic composites that were the very essence of the new race that was being formed. Very few interesting figures in the arts or letters have been pure white, negro, or Indian. All the good novels produced in the past twenty years, with scarcely an exception, are studies of average Brazilians with this synthetic ancestry.

Brazil has a cultural life that may often be pedantic, erratic, even mediocre, but it nevertheless has definite originality, vigor and growth. What is strange, however (and reminds one of the situation of Russia under the Czars), is that all this intense intellectual fermentation takes place in a country where the bulk of the population has never been taught to read or write,

where millions of children have no schools, where it is impossible to teach mothers to take adequate care of their babies because they have never been taught elementary principles of hygiene, where superstition and African voodoo start as the immediate influence of the Church ceases, and where even the zestful living of the people is implacably undermined by an inadequate and insufficient diet.

HERNANE TAVARES DE SÁ

BOOKS FROM EVERYWHERE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE WORLD by James Burnham. New York, John Day. $3.00

James Burnham is the author of the widely discussed *Managerial Revolution* and he was a communist with Trotskyist leanings until he broke off his leftist connections in 1940. Now he comes forth with dynamite, a book as explosive as the atomic bomb. It is his contention that Western civilization can continue to exist only "if an absolute monopoly in the control of atomic weapons is created." This, he says, can be achieved only by a "World Empire."

Several chapters are devoted to instructing the United States in foreign policy, but he dismally predicts that the United States will follow a vacillating policy until it is too little and too late. Then either communism will rule the world or Russia, the United States and all the West will crumble to dust and leave civilization to China, India or Islam. The book moves at a fast pace likely to quicken the pulse and arouse the United States from Maine to California. Paul Revere rides again! On his side Burnham has the recent attempt by Germany for evidence. But does Russia, any more than the United States, want an atomic war to the death? At the very least this book should stir all countries, particularly Russia and the United States, to implement and strengthen the United Nations as a formidable and enforcing agency for peace and constructive effort against destruction and racial suicide. Why is this goal not as realistic and realizable as Burnham's inevitable road to war?

THE COMING CRISIS by Fritz Sternberg. New York, John Day. $3.50.

That an economic crisis is coming is an unqualified prophecy of Fritz Sternberg, German-born economist, who has in the past forecast with uncanny accuracy nearly all the crises which were visited upon the world during the past two decades. The holocaust with which we are faced will imperil the whole world, he says, and if it is not handled properly will probably lead to another war, at which time the U. S. monopoly of the atomic bomb would no longer exist. The showdown, according to Dr. Sternberg, must be between the two titans—the U. S. and the U.S.S.R. The results of such a war would be horrible beyond compare. The author then proceeds to give his program for making the coming crisis the starting point for "a progressive development not only in the United States but throughout the world." His formula is a recipe for liberalizing industry and capitalism. Whether the author has made a keen analysis will probably be proved in the not too distant future. The work shows careful consideration and thought.

THE WORLD AND AFRICA by W. E. Burghardt DuBois. New York, The Viking Press. $3.00.

Devoted research has gone into the making of this book, subtitled "an inquiry into the part which Africa has played in world history." Dr. DuBois, eloquent and scholarly spokesman for his race, believes that the suppression of the historical record of Africa and its peoples is one of the direct causes of the world's present plight. The gap which Dr. DuBois endeavors to fill, on the old culture of the Negroes, especially on the West African Coast, their influence on ancient Egypt and Abyssinia, the hideous slave trade, the grim exploitation of Africa, has indeed been too long neglected. That the white peoples who have torn Africa apart have no desire either to recall their own ruthlessness or credit their victims with a high level of culture is obvious. We are indebted to Dr. DuBois for this interesting account of his own researches into the backwaters of African history. It should inspire others to dig deeper into a neglected subject, important to the dignity and proper status of Negroes everywhere.

THE THIRD WAY by Stuart Cloete. Boston, Houghton Mifflin. $3.50.

Everyone wants to find a way out of the present world mess. In THE THIRD WAY, Stuart Cloete, well known for his African novels, sets down his ideas in easy conversational style for "The Man in the Street." His criticism of modern civilization is scathing, annihilating and largely justified. Cloete declares that revolution should not be against man but against man's misuse of machines. His solution points to some form of social democracy, leading toward "internationalism, peace and the brotherhood of man." The precise pattern to achieve the desired end never comes quite clear, but the book has stimulating and rewarding moments, in spite of many overworked clichés.

THE INDIVIDUAL, THE STATE AND WORLD GOVERNMENT by A. C. Ewing. New York, Macmillan. $4.00.

Professor Ewing, an outstanding English philosopher on the staff of Cambridge University, "discusses rationally the chief general political principles at issue in the world today." His method is objective and pertinently poses ethical principles on which political decisions should be made. He analyzes from every aspect the rights of the individual, the function and concept of the state, the good that outweighs the weakness of democracy and the problems relating to international organization and the prevention of war. This is a timely book and helpful, too, for those who have the patience to work through their own confusion to firmer ground.

APPEAL TO THE NATIONS by Norman Thomas. New York, Henry Holt & Co. $2.75.

A leading spokesman and perennial presidential candidate of the U. S. Socialist party, violently opposed to the U. S. entry into World Wars I and II, Norman Thomas here offers his own program for peace. Analyzing and brushing aside all previous proposals, Thomas states the minimum price of peace as total disarmament and the liquidation of imperialism, both completely and without compromise, reinforced by Ely Culbertson's quota principle for international security, through a world police force. In spite of the author's criticism of the United Nations, he believes that this program can best be carried out through the framework and machinery of the UN. He calls on the United States to make this appeal "to the peoples of the world." Even with some doubts of Soviet acceptance he thinks the gamble is worth the effort.

POLITICAL HANDBOOK OF THE WORLD, 1947, edited by Walter H. Mallory. New York. Harper & Bros. for the Council on Foreign Relations. $3.50.

This is the 20th edition of what has become an invaluable reference book for all those interested in international affairs. Thoroughgoing changes have been made to bring the factual material in line with the political realities of the postwar period. It is only regrettable that, complete as it is with regard to parties, political leaders and press in what were formerly the world's sovereign nations, including Germany and Japan, it omits any reference to political entities such as Burma, Indonesia, Viet-Nam, Tibet, Korea, Malaya, Palestine and Transjordan and, doubtless for lack of adequate source material, lists with a few scant facts a number of "other nations" including Afganistan, Ethiopia, Lebanon and Syria, all four now UN members. There is an adequate section on the UN itself and its specialized agencies.

EUROPE

FRENCH LABOR, FROM POPULAR FRONT TO LIBERATION by Henry W. Ehrmann. New York, Oxford University Press. $4.00

One of the studies of the Institute of World Affairs, this vivid picture of the forces at work within what was perhaps the key group in the key country of Europe during the decade 1934-44 has a wider significance than might at first be supposed. Its clear, analytical narrative brings out the interrelations of Communists and Catholic Labor, Syndicalists and old-line trade unionists and their shifting relations to the state in a period of crucial change. Chapter heads such as "The Shoals of Economic Reform," "The Dissolution of Unity," "Resistance and Regeneration," give a hint of the volume's scope.

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Robert A. Millikan calls it: "A book of such fundamental grasp and insight as cannot be expected to appear more than once or twice in a century."

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Illustrated, $3.50

Longmans, Green & Co.
55 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. 3

GERMAN YOUTH: BOND OR FREE by Howard Becker. New York, Oxford University Press. $4.00.

Professor Becker of the University of Wisconsin has written an intensely interesting study on the evolution of the German Youth Movement from its roots in idyllic mythology to its pernicious role during the reign of Nazism and its insidious evil today. He traces the growth of the German youth's belief in its own superiority, its reaction to modernization, its desire to romanticize, as demonstrated in the Roamer groups started by Karl Fischer and fostered by Copalle, the branching off of some of the Roamers into inversion, the contempt for girls, the development of singing groups, of rituals and "nests," and finally of overnight hostels. In its more recent history, particularly under the Nazis, girls were admitted to groups, and anti-Semitism was emphasized. These youth groups still exist, in some cases meeting in secret, and they are very proud of their "heritage." They have bravado and are willing to risk their lives for what they have been led to believe. They are the nucleus of what may become a very dangerous movement unless careful education is provided for them. The study is very well illustrated, carefully annotated and documented.

HOW SHOULD WE REBUILD LONDON? by C. B. Purdom. London, J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. 15s. ($3.00).

In a new edition of his book, revised and largely rewritten, C. B. Purdom, well-known English authority on town planning, discusses the reconstruction of London. A Londoner himself and "esteeming London more than any city in the world," he urges with fervor that the new London should be made the world's noblest and greatest city. Except in a general way to suggest principles of planning and to enlist popular support for quick and wise action, he minimizes the technical side and does not draw up specific plans of his own. He does, however, explain in some detail the defects in the several plans already suggested. He sets forth certain essentials: housing for everyone must be raised to the highest levels of building and equipment; land speculation must be eliminated; the population of London must be reduced. His heart is set on real homes and gardens for working people in the city, not in suburbs. No "skyscrapers for business and tenements for homes" in his dream city. In his opinion the land will have to be nationalized. And, with admiration for the achievements of the TVA, he proposes a similar setup in England—a London Regional Authority.

UNITED STATES

WHEN THE CATHEDRALS WERE WHITE by Le Corbusier. New York, Reynal & Hitchcock. $3.00.

The famous French architect, now on the planning commission of the new UN site in New York, wrote this book ten years ago, but now for the first time it is being published in English. It is as fresh, dynamic and full of meaning for today and the future as it was a decade ago. Le Corbusier puts special emphasis on harmonious architectural planning and architecture not merely for beauty but for the service and comfort of human beings. Indeed he radiates ideas and hope and strength. The title, which sings through the book like a ballad refrain, refers to the great cathedral building of the Middle Ages, when all united to raise epics of stone on the debris of the past. Le Corbusier has deep faith in the potentialities of the American people. He "loves and hates" New York, as so many do. In writing which often flows like prose poetry, he admires and exhorts; he urges his revolutionary plans for adapting New York and other cities to the machine age and to the happier housing of city dwellers.

A FREE AND RESPONSIBLE PRESS, with a foreword by Robert M. Hutchins. University of Chicago Press. $2.00.

Seventeen college professors and presidents and four staff members go to make up the Commission on Freedom of the Press, which was financed in 1944 by *Time* and *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* to work independently and investigate the conditions of the mass communications agencies in the United States in our time. They found that freedom of the press is endangered by three possible evils: the concentration of the press has narrowed down the number of people who can express their ideas and opinions through the press; those in control have not provided a service adequate to the needs of society; those in charge of direction have engaged in practices which society condemns and will inevitably undertake to regulate. The book gives concisely the problem and the principles, the requirements, the means and suggested plans for a free and effective press.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS SERVICE

A distribution center for publications of an international character, International Documents Service is the official sales agent for various international organizations, including the United Nations. A complete checklist of the publications of the United Nations may be had on request. Through the reports now available the reader is assured of accurate, authoritative information on international problems.

IDENTITY AND TRAVEL DOCUMENT

This report is an analysis of international action previously taken in connection with issuance of identity and travel documents to persons without or with doubtful nationality. It is also concerned with adoption of identity and travel documents for refugees and with the findings of experts on travel documents. Actual specimen travel documents are included in the volume. *Prepared by the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees.*
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The *Weekly Bulletin*, issued by the Department of Public Information, is prepared to help provide a concise account of the activities of the United Nations. It is illustrated; its material is well condensed and digested for readability; it is presented in an attractive format of about 30 pages. $6.00 per year; single copy, 15 cents.

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JIM CROW AMERICA by Earl Conrad. New York, Duell, Sloan & Pearce. $3.00.

An earnest, somewhat emotional plea for equality and justice for the Negro, portrayed with considerable eloquence by the New York representative of *The Chicago Defender*, formerly a reporter on *PM* and th Hearst papers. The book contains a series of sketches and personal observations of Negro life in America, tracing Jim Crowism from its economic roots in slavery to economic fear and prejudice on the part of the white person today, particularly in the South, and in the labor movements. Mr. Conrad has sufficient justification for his stand, but one gets the feeling that it is too completely one-sided—all blacks, according to him, are good and are persecuted, and all whites are bad and persecutors. A little more objectivity would have made of this book one of the best on the subject.

U. S. S. R.

USSR, A Concise Handbook, edited by Ernest J. Simmons. Cornell University Press. $4.50.

This useful book had its origin in the Cornell courses offered during the summers of 1943 and 1944 and known collectively as an Intensive Study of Contemporary Russian Civilization. *The Encyclopedia Americana* company later asked the faculty members, together with other authorities on Soviet affairs, to provide its entire section on the USSR, and it is these closely related articles which are here reprinted in book form, with some minor corrections to bring the factual material up to date. Grouped under geography, political science, the social sciences and the humanities and science, the 27 chapters, by 19 authors, give a well-rounded, objective picture of the Soviet Union.

UNDERSTANDING THE RUSSIANS. A Study of Soviet Life and Culture, edited by Bernhard J. Stern and Samuel Smith. New York, Barnes and Noble. $2.75.

The editors of this book have gathered into 201 pages contributions from 51 American, British and Russian authorities on the Soviet Union, all readable and informative and none unfriendly, grouping them under nine general headings to give a more or less comprehensive survey of Soviet life and culture. Since only two or three of the essays were written especially for this volume, the others being selected from speeches, magazines and books, the texture is naturally uneven and the coverage sketchy; but the general reader will find it a stimulating introduction to a subject of vital interest.

ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

THE UNITED STATES AND THE NEAR EAST by E. A. Speiser. Harvard University Press. $2.50.

As an archeologist to whom 5,000 years are a moment of collected dust in history, Dr. Speiser is able to view the past, present and future of the Near East philosophically and objectively. Having spent many years excavating in the Near East, well acquainted with its peoples and their languages, he has not only a vast knowledge of the Arab countries, but the rare ability to impart this knowledge clearly, concisely and with concern for the relation of the parts to the whole. In discussing the Palestine question he gives equal consideration to the Jewish, Arab and British angles and sees Palestine as a "triangular" problem which demands a world solution. With similar fairness Speiser handles the culture, history and recent politics, the strategic, economic and social problems of the Near East and the roles played by the foreign powers, including the United States, most recent arrival in this ancient and modern arena of conflicting interests. This book is absorbing and important reading for everyone concerned with the shape of the future.

MODERN TRENDS IN ISLAM by H. A. R. Gibb. University of Chicago Press. $2.50.

What Moslems of today are thinking, the character of their "intellectual revolution," how contacts with Western countries have affected Moslem religious life and what reconciliation can be made between orthodox Moslem tradition and the impact of Western social influences are the main themes of this investigation. Professor Gibb is optimistic that Islam through internal evolution will find a solution out of the present confusions of the modernists, a solution which "will be based on the proved experience and needs of the Moslem peoples." Scholarly and formal in its approach, the book is of interest mainly to students of religion and specialists in Islam.

AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER? by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. New York, John Day. $2.25.

Those interested in Dr. Coomaraswamy's frank and stimulating "'Curse' of Foreign Rule" in our February issue will welcome this little volume of his collected essays. He is a scholar and also a fighter, but he fights with his own sharp-edged sword, finely tempered with searching thought and the vision of what this world might be in beauty, significance and human values. Through all these essays—every page a mine of gold to ponder over—runs a deep spiritual current in which the supreme religious expression of East and West is one, even though to him the West has temporarily lost its bearings. His scorching invectives of the West for destroying Eastern culture are ominous in warning. Although much of his writing is difficult for the uninitiated, these essays are for everyone and present Coomaraswamy as a challenging interpreter of East to West, a great modern teacher of the eternal mysteries.

AUSTRALIA, Its Resources and Development, edited by G. L. Wood. New York, Macmillan. $4.00.

About 20 of Australia's research scientists and experts have combined in this informing discussion of Australia's riches, production and methods of overcoming some of the natural handicaps now and in the future. Especially worth reading are the chapters on the pastoral and agricultural industries, on mineral and hydroelectric resources, to understand how greatly potential resources can still be developed in a country where it is frankly accepted that three-quarters of the land "is destined to remain desolate or sparsely inhabited." The book reveals the determination of a pioneer people to forge ahead to increasing prosperity and on the other hand their fear of invasion from an

awakened Asia unless security guarantees are given prompt and concrete expression.

AMERICAN-AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS by Werner Levi. University of Minnesota Press. $2.75.

From the first U. S. trade contacts with the pioneer British colony at New South Wales, founded in 1788, to the present-day controversy over the possession of Pacific Island bases this study stresses the highlights of intercourse between the United States and Australia. The balance over the years is weighted far more on the side of friendliness than antagonism. It is the conclusion of the author that "the United States and Australia are important to each other and that the security of both depends to a large degree on cooperation." This monograph is essential reading for students of the Pacific regions.

LATIN AMERICA

PORTRAIT OF LATIN AMERICA AS SEEN BY HER PRINT MAKERS, edited by Anne Lyon Haight, preface by Monroe Wheeler, introduction by Jean Charlot. New York, Hastings House. $5.00.

This is the most complete collection available of the work of Latin American graphic artists. The volume includes etchings, lithographs, engravings, drypoints, monotypes, aquatints and woodcuts by artists from 18 Latin American countries. It will give readers long familiar with the art of Rivera, Portinari, Orozco, Siqueiros and Covarrubias an opportunity to become acquainted with the work of men as yet relatively unknown in the United States.

LATIN AMERICANS IN TEXAS by Pauline Kibbe. University of New Mexico Press. $3.50.

Like their fellow Mexican-Americans throughout the southwest, Texas's million or so inhabitants of Mexican descent are treated as an undesirable and inferior minority by their Anglo-American neighbors. They are refused service in public places, denied the right to vote and to serve on juries in some counties, often refused the right to rent or own real estate, plagued by unfair employment practices, discriminated against by both management and labor unions, and their children are segregated in the public schools. In her careful study of these problems, Miss Kibbe suggests legal, economic and educational remedies.

DAVID CURTIS DEFOREST AND THE REVOLUTION OF BUENOS AIRES by Benjamin Keen. New Haven, Yale University Press. $3.00.

The part played by David Curtis DeForest, Yankee adventurer, in Argentina's struggle for independence from Spain is discussed in a scholarly, academic style. There is much interesting material showing the impact of United States ideas and military intervention in the fight against Spain. Ths book is chiefly for the specialist in Inter-American relations.

LA MUSICA EN CUBA (Music in Cuba) by Alejo Carpentier. Mexico City, Fondo de Cultura Economica. $1.50.

The story of Cuban music from the sixteenth century to the present, told in a readable way without sacrificing scholarship. Before Cuba had a theater or a newspaper, she already had a composer of religious music like Esteban Salas. Without the Indian art tradition of some of the other Latin American countries, Cuba has produced vital music that is her own.

FICTION

THE LEFT HAND IS THE DREAMER by Nancy Wilson Ross. New York, William Sloane Associates. $3.50.

One does not need to be acquainted with the author to realize that she is both sophisticated and warmly human, keenly alive to subtle shades and values in art and, above all, torn with the brooding menace of the atomic age. These things her novel reveals. Into an upper New York State community, easy-going and hardly aware of the impact of the war, comes Franz Allers, an Austrian scientist, bruised with his tragic experiences but mature in world vision. He is an authentic portrayal of a European idealist. His effect on the life of Frederika, the heroine, provides the story theme. The background, the talk back and forth, the uncompromising realization of the somber atmosphere of our times, place the book on an adult level far above that of the average American novel.

GENTLEMAN'S AGREEMENT by Laura Z. Hobson. New York, Simon & Shuster. $2.75.

A slight thread of plot and love conflict holds GENTLEMAN'S AGREEMENT within the framework of a novel. The real value of the book is in its outspoken treatment of the rising antisemitic feeling among "nice" people in the United States. Everything is here; what everybody knows, what is never put in print—the insults, humiliations, "restrictions," the half-whispered insinuations. The author has gone into the subject as effectively as a racial anthropologist and certainly more dramatically. She makes her points, often quite subtly, through the reaction of her characters to the brew stirred up by the idealistic and popular journalist who digs out his material by becoming "a Jew for eight weeks." Here is an absorbing book—especially for those who *think* they have no prejudice.

A ROOM ON THE ROUTE by Godfrey Blunden. Philadelphia, Lippincott. $3.00.

Various Russian types weave in and out of the room on the "route," the heavily policed street through which Kremlin officials drive to their country homes. There are tired old Bolsheviks like Rachel, her son Karl, a political prisoner, Gregor, a former NKVD man waiting his doom, gentle Lizavetta of the pre-Revolutionary regime, and many others. Their stories are told through Fergusson, young official of a foreign legation. The main action takes place during the period of the Stalingrad defense and carries the reader back to the early days of the Revolution and to the "trials" and forward to the final catastrophe. The people are vividly protrayed against an atmosphere of fear, terror and patriotic war fervor. The author, an Australian correspondent, was in Russia in '42 and '43. His novel has its tense moments and is eminently readable, but because of its controversial approach it will be denounced by Communists and their supporters.

HARPER BOOKS

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Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe

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Edited by GEORGE B. DEHUSZAR, *Author of "Practical Applications of Democracy," etc.*

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THE NEW TRAVELER

IN SEARCH OF POSTWAR BRITAIN

By S. P. B. Mais

Despite "austerity," Britain expects over 40,000 visitors from the United States this year. What changes will they find in the "tight little isle" that is tighter today than ever, economically speaking? In this article, addressed to potential visitors but of interest to everyone, the author gives the answers—plush living is out but beauty survives.

ONE thing you will not find changed in Britain is the climate. Let's get straight on this. Britain is not a fog-bound island. London gets an occasional fog and some of the river valleys have their periodical mists but the island as a whole is remarkably free of fog. And although there is plenty of rain, Britain's average meed of sunshine is nevertheless between five and six hours a day throughout the year.

Charles II's boast that Britain possesses the finest climate in the world has some claim to truth, for though our weather is capricious and unpredictable we never suffer from extremes of heat and cold. In the spring and fall, when the skies are practically always clear and the air is fresh, the climate is well-nigh perfect.

In Queen Elizabeth's reign, the British inns also had a top reputation. Today you are going to have to put up with "austerity" luncheons and dinners limited to three courses and five shillings ($1.00c.). Nevertheless the more enterprising and reputable hotels, most of which were taken over by the Services during the war but have since been derequisitioned and refurbished, still manage to put on a good varied table.

Now a word of warning. We have still much to show you that is very old in spite of widespread bomb damage. We have nothing to show you that is exceptionally high or broad or large. You have first to accommodate yourself to our size. Britain is a very small island. You could put five Englands into the State of Texas and still have a considerable slice to spare.

This means you must completely alter your tempo. If you try to see Britain from an aeroplane you will find yourself continually staring down into an empty sea. If you really want to get inside the heart of Britain you must wander about in a leisurely way on your own feet or on horseback. "There is no pleasure in traveling," said William Cobbett, "except on horseback or on foot."

London's Heart Beats Steadily

PROBABLY your first inclination will be to visit the worst blitzed towns. There is no getting away from the fact that London is still a sorry sight, shoddy and battered. She badly needs a new coat of paint, but underneath her disheveled scarred exterior we can still feel her heart beating regularly.

Underneath she is still gay. Her shops are crowded, her restaurants are crowded. Art, music and literature all flourish. She is only superficially grimy and grim. People are beginning to dress more smartly and there is plenty of fun to be found in the various night clubs though they are not cheap.

Most of the other badly blitzed towns are primarily concerned with reconstruction and you can easily see why. The Germans never succeeded in knocking London out, but when you have seen the wasteland that was once the heart of Plymouth, Coventry, Exeter, Liverpool, Southampton and Bristol you may well be surprised that they were able to survive at all. Ambitious schemes have been evolved for completely replanning Plymouth and Exeter but it will be many years before the phoenix can rise from its ashes. On the other hand there have been some extraordinary examples of cities coming through the war unscathed.

Of these perhaps the most remarkable is Oxford, upon whose ancient colleges no single bomb fell. In other words you will find Oxford outwardly unchanged. Inwardly she has changed beyond all recognition. Instead of coming straight up from school at 18, the average undergraduate of today is a mature adult of 25 or 26, having experienced six years of war.

A large number are married, many of them already have families, and the consequence is that they take a far more serious view of life than their prewar predecessors.

Instead of paying £200 or £300 a year for the privilege of attending the University practically all of them are in receipt of a Government Service Grant which pays for their tuition and enables them to live in comparative comfort. Altogether, there are over 6,000 men and 1,000 women in residence, an increase of 80 per cent on the prewar figures.

ALTHOUGH the standard achieved in games and rowing is higher than ever, it is owing to his more mature age that the postwar undergraduate refuses to let play stand in the way of his work. One of the Oxford crew refused to row this year against Cambridge on the ground that rowing interferes with his engineering course. This is an almost unprecedented action.

These postwar undergraduates take a much livelier interest in politics (as incidentally does the rest of the Country) than their predecessors. Political clubs and debating societies are well supported and there is a remarkable

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The Author: Stuart Petre Brodie Mais, only child of an English country parson, is a graduate of Christ Church, Oxford, and a leading authority on the British countryside. First a schoolmaster and then a writer in turn for the London *Daily Express, Daily Graphic* and *Daily Telegraph,* he was also one of the pioneers of British broadcasting and for 25 years has been giving talks over the air on books and the British rural scene. On behalf of the BBC, Mais toured the United States before the war, broadcasting descriptions of what he saw to listeners in Britain. During the war, he broadcast in the other direction to the United States about conditions in Britain. Among his 70-odd books are *See England First, Glorious Devon, England of the Windmills, This Unknown Island* and *There'll Always be an England.* He is now an examiner at the University of Oxford, and lectures on topographical and literary subjects to societies and schools all over Britain.

ne Britain — the 13th century
ch at Nurstead, Kent, framed in
ry trees more than 100 years old

The old and the new in Britain — left, a modern apartment building; right, a village cottage

renaissance of dramatic societies in all the colleges.

In a word, postwar Oxford is intellectually, aesthetically and physically more agile than it has been for a great number of years. So on your visit to Oxford you will not only enjoy the pleasure of wandering through college cloisters and quadrangles that have not changed in appearance for 600 years but you will also meet a representative cross-section of the young ex-service scholar returned to his studies, who is quite a new phenomenon. You will find a very startling contrast between the peace and beauty of the College gardens and the bustle in the much too congested streets beyond.

The Unscathed Cathedrals

YOUR most natural desire after visiting London and Oxford will be to visit the other Cathedral cities. It is curious that while so many famous churches were destroyed in the war, most of our cathedrals came through unscathed. The splendid spire of Salisbury, and the great West Fronts of Exeter and Wells still stand intact.

It so happens that the outstanding cathedrals all lie on the eastern side of England, so you can make a convenient pilgrimage beginning at Canterbury, the magnificent mother church of England, and work your way northward by way of St. Albans, Ely, Norwich and Lincoln to York and Durham.

In all these seven cathedrals you get superb but widely differing examples of the consummate craftsmanship of the medieval masons. In one the outstanding glory will be that of tall symmetrical towers, in another the delicate harmony of the pillars, in another the rich color of the medieval stained glass. Lincoln and Ely are notably islanded above a world of rich, black, low-lying fens. Durham stands high on a cliff-face above coalfields, Canterbury rises above a forest of orchards and hop-fields, and York and Norwich are surrounded by rich farmlands, so in addition to seeing all periods of ecclesiastical architecture you will also be seeing a fair cross-section of the English landscape.

And you will find that in Cathedral cities the atmosphere of medievalism still remains in the narrow alley-ways and the low-ceilinged, bow-windowed shops and inns.

Make a point of visiting Lincoln, Salisbury and Norwich on market days and you will see how much the commercial prosperity of the city depends on the bartering of live stock. In whatever part of the country you find yourself always make a point of attending the market. In Stratford-upon-Avon you will overhear farmers talking in a dialect which Shakespeare would immediately recognize even if you find it hard to follow.

The Smithy and the Thatcher

INDEED I think it true to say that the smaller the place you stay in, the nearer you are likely to get to the heart of England, for the average Britisher is a country man by ancestry and a country man at heart. He is never really at ease in a town. So to meet him on his own ground I suggest that you give yourself time, after visiting the cathedrals, abbeys, castles and historic shrines, to loiter about in some English village and see the changes there.

The big house may be derelict or converted into a country hotel or school. There is almost bound to be an airfield close by, and you will certainly see khaki-clad girls of the Women's Land Army going off to their duties on the nearby farms.

Walk down to the smithy and watch the village blacksmith shoeing the farm horses, watch the thatcher plaiting the reeds on a cottage roof, the hedger laying a hedge or the ploughman ploughing a furrow, and you will realize how busy and skillful the country craftsman is and how proud of his work. Watch him at his games on the village green, join him in the inn and listen to his racy philosophy as he loosens up over his pint of beer and games of darts.

You will find the English villages as different from one another in architecture as the villages differ in dialect. In Devon and the West you will hear a slow soft burr in whitewashed thatched cottages of wattle and daub. On the Welsh border the houses are all black and white, in the Midlands where the speech is crisp and abrupt the cottages are of solid gray stone. In the South most of the houses are of timber and mellow brick and the speech rich and mellow as the brick.

THERE is plenty of natural beauty everywhere and it is the search for this beauty that should be the main object of your visit, but it is both elusive and difficult to analyze. It is always off the beaten track for the simple reason that it is a quiet beauty.

Constable found it in the water meadows of the Stour on the Suffolk-Essex border; but it can be found in any county, and it consists of a harmonious arrangement of elms rising above barns and church spires, of poplars and willows lining the banks of a meandering stream, of high banked hedges enclosing narrow winding lanes, of smooth close-cropped chalk downs rising above a wooded weald, of little lost blue meres enshrouded by tall pines, of ancient woodland rises where you may come across a vixen playing with her cubs or watch a badger rootling like a pig for truffles.

Scotland's Deep Blue Lochs

THE beauty of England is the trim, gentle, colorful beauty of a garden. The beauty of Wales and Scotland is wilder. In Wales you will meet the small black-haired Celtic sheep farmer,

living in white-washed farms on the remote hills, a courteous, hospitable host with a passion for music and his native poetry. In Scotland you will meet the sturdy Gael, a picturesque and romantic figure who proudly flaunts in his kilt the colorful tartan of his clan.

The golden eagle still flies over the summits of Scotland's snow-capped purple hills and the wild deer can be seen in their hundreds feeding on the heather-covered slopes of the grouse moors. At the foot of the mountains are deep blue lochs, sometimes fringed with golden seaweed, that reflect the mountain tops in their clean shining surface.

The hospitality of the Scot is a byword. The hotels are numerous and first-rate with long experience of catering for the angler, who is invariably a connoisseur of food and wine. You may perhaps at times find the English menu unenterprising, but you will not, I think, quickly tire of Tay salmon, Loch Leven trout, venison, haggis, Highland whisky, Athol Brose or Drambuie.

Scotland's single greatest asset is her natural beauty which is similar to, though on a different scale from, that of Switzerland. But in addition to the magic of her colors and the sublimity of her contours, there is a wealth of folk lore, legend and history (mainly of course concerning Mary Queen of Scots or Bonnie Prince Charlie) which considerably heightens the interest we take in the scene.

To visit Britain without seeing Scotland is like visiting the United States without seeing the Grand Canyon.

One last word. If you want to get a fair picture of postwar Britain, I strongly recommend a visit, not to our new vast holiday camps where entertainment is regimented, but to Brighton, on England's south coast, which is still one of the gayest and most cosmopolitan seaside resorts in the world.

A British "Atlantic City"

In spite of the fact that it stood in the front line in the Battle of Britain and bore the brunt of scores of air raids, its famous Regency terraces and squares still stand, emanating a dignity and nobility rare in popular resorts.

Brighton with its miles of crowded beaches and colorful lawns, its all-the-year-round succession of open-air ports and indoor entertainments to suit every taste and all ages, is our British equivalent to Atlantic City.

And it is my hope and belief that you too on your holiday in Britain may find the trip so enjoyable that you will overlook the short supply of this and that commodity and take delight in the fact that what you really came to see, the old Britain, still stands, and that her natural beauty still remains, like the sun and the sea and the sky, unrationed.

Resurgam—"I Shall Rise Again," old British keystone symbolic of today.

Remodeling Britain

Among Britain's postwar projects is an 8-point program to improve the beauty of its countryside and living comforts of its people. The 8 points, illustrated at right, are explained below.

1. **Rural beauty will be preserved by protecting the countryside from ugly development.**
2. **Growth of towns will be controlled. Big cities will be decentralized with planned suburbs.**
3. **Garden sites will be planned around new industries to improve life of workers.**
4. **New amenities and public services will bring rural life into balance with town life.**
5. **Town road systems will be replanned to make traffic faster and safer.**
6. **"Green belts," with fine roads will insure easy access to the country from cities.**
7. **Overpopulated areas will be redeveloped; obsolete residential areas replaced.**
8. **Cities will have more green spaces. Some heavily bombed areas will become open spaces.**

WORLD FILES

Every month World Files presents a complete and authoritative summary of all important speeches, treaties and other international documents of the preceding month. This summary provides an invaluable guide for those interested in and concerned with international affairs.

Complete copies of any of the items summarized, including official documents when available, will be sent upon request to readers at cost plus a few cents for handling and mailing. Send your request, giving the key number of the document required (e.g., 58:47 for President Truman's speech on Greece and Turkey) to World Files, UNITED NATIONS WORLD, 385 Madison Avenue, New York 17.

Period Covered: Feb. 25—March 28, 1947

40:47 Allies Liquidate Prussia

Feb. 25, Berlin

1. Allied Control Council approved and signed Law No. 46 which liquidates Prussia's central government and all its agencies.

Background: This was the only item of the nine sections making up the report of the Allied Control Commission on which there was complete agreement. Prussia, which first became a kingdom in 1701, was the largest and most populous state in Germany. It has long been regarded as the embodiment of those characteristics attributed to the military and as the fountainhead of German imperialism and war spirit.

41:47 Yugoslav-Czechoslovak Trade Pact

Feb. 26, Belgrade

1. Five-year agreement provides: (a) Czechoslovakia to deliver machinery and installations for electrification and industrialization in accordance with Yugoslav five-year plan; (b) Yugoslavia to send Czechoslovakia raw materials and foodstuffs of high caloric value.

42:47 French Assembly Curbs Secret Subsidies to Press

Feb. 27, Paris

1. Replacing temporary statute of Sept. 30, 1944, Assembly approved permanent measure setting up scale of penalties applicable to persons who published periodicals and operated news agencies during certain periods of the Nazi occupation and who have since regained control of these or similar organizations. Object is to prevent secret subsidies for the purpose of influencing opinion.

43:47 U.S.-Siam Air Pact

Feb. 27, Washington

1. Permits Pan American Airways to operate through Bangkok in both directions on its certificated routes from U.S. and India to Saigon, Indo-China and beyond to China, the Philippines and to the U.S. West Coast. A Siamese airline route is authorized from Siam to Honolulu and Los Angeles.

44:47 Truman Statement on Aid to India

Feb. 28, Washington

1. U.S. stands ready to assist India in its plans for economic development in all appropriate ways which would benefit the two countries and the world (the President made this statement when accepting letters of credence of Asaf Ali, India's first ambassador to U.S.).

45:47 President Truman's Bill for Unified National Defense Department

Feb. 28, Washington

1. To promote the national security, the bill provides for "a National Defense Establishment which shall be administered by a Secretary of National Defense, and for a Department of the Army, a Department of the Navy, and a Department of the Air Force within the National Defense Establishment."

2. The Secretary of National Defense to be a civilian appointed by the President.

3. The Establishment to have a War Council composed of the Secretary of National Defense, as Chairman, with power of decision; the Secretaries of the Army, Navy and Air Force; Chiefs of Staff, Army and Air Force; and Chief of Naval Operations.

4. Would establish the following bodies: Joint Chiefs of Staff; Munitions Board; Research and Development Board; National Security Council; Central Intelligence Agency; National Security Resources Board.

Background: This bill, backed by the War and Navy Departments, represents the compromise views of the Army, Navy and Air Forces. While it would set up a unified national defense establishment, a large degree of autonomy would be left to the various branches of the armed services.

46:47 Spanish-Argentine Air Pact

March 1, Madrid

1. A limited pact within framework of Chicago Air Convention, it provides only for freedom to cross each other's territory without landing or to land for technical needs without carrying traffic.

47:47 Truman Message to Congress on Selective Service

March 3, Washington

1. After careful consideration and consultation with the Secretaries of War and Navy, "and with the earnest desire of placing our army and navy on an entirely volunteer basis at the earliest possible moment," the President has decided to recommend no extension of Selective Service and Training Act expiring on March 31, 1947.

2. Decision has been taken on understanding that: (a) War and Navy Departments will request re-enactment of Act at later date if they are unable to maintain army at strength of 1,070,000 men and Navy at 571,000 through voluntary enlistments; (b) Army and Navy be authorized from appropriated funds to employ temporarily civilian personnel over and above those specifically authorized in order to balance any shortage of enlisted personnel.

48:47 Anglo-French Alliance

March 4, Dunkerque

1. Britain and France, in the event of a threat to the security of either arising out of a policy of aggression by Germany, will consult and take such agreed action as is best calculated to put an end to this threat.

2. Should either country again become involved in hostilities with Germany, either as a result of armed attack within the meaning of Article 51 of the UN Charter (giving members the right of self-defense pending action by the Security Council), or as a result of agreed action taken under Para. 1, or as a result of enforcement action taken against Germany by the Security Council,

mutual military and other support will be provided by either of the contracting parties to the other.

3. Mutual aid is pledged in regard to the fulfillment of Germany's economic obligations to each of the parties.

4. Bearing the welfare of the other members of the United Nations in mind, both parties will consult on economic matters to promote their economic and social welfare in accordance with the economic and social objectives of the UN.

5. Nothing in the present treaty shall derogate obligations of the parties under Article 43 of the UN Charter (calling upon all members to provide the Security Council with agreed armed and other assistance needed for maintenance of international peace and security).

6. Neither party will enter into any treaty against the other.

7. The treaty is subject to ratification and will remain in effect 50 years. Unless either of the contracting parties gives notice to the other at least one year before the expiration of the treaty, it will remain in force indefinitely.

49:47 Gromyko Statement on U.S. Atomic Plan

March 5, Lake Success

1. Rejected concept of an Atomic Development Authority as developed by Atomic Energy Commission in its report.

2. Reiterated Soviet insistence on the principle of unanimity of the major powers (the veto) on sanctions.

3. Soviet Union is in favor of "strict international control and inspection of atomic energy."

4. But this control "should not develop into interference with those branches of industry which are not connected with production of atomic energy."

5. "To grant the control organ unlimited rights and possession and management of atomic establishments cannot be looked upon as anything but an attempt by the U.S. to secure for itself a world monopoly in the field of atomic energy."

50:47 Austin's Reply to Gromyko on Atomic Energy

March 10, Lake Success

1. Denied Soviet charges that U. S. sought monopoly in atomic energy.

2. Soviet objections deny the necessity, if security is to be achieved, for an international cooperative development in the field of atomic energy.

3. The majority seek an effective international control by a genuinely international cooperative development of atomic energy to which all nations would contribute their skills and knowledge without secrecy and in which all nations would share the benefits on an equitable basis.

4. The Soviet proposals provide for a system which would give no security and would be a constant incentive to distrust and war.

51:47 Soviet-Polish Agreements

March 6, Moscow

Series of agreements provide, *inter alia:*

1. Soviet will lend Poland $27,875.000 worth of gold.

2. U.S.S.R. will supply Poland "armaments and military supplies on credit."

3. Polish supplies of coal to U.S.S.R. under Aug. 15, 1945 agreement to be halved (original agreement, covering period of occupation of Germany, provided for 8,000,000 tons during the first year, 13,000,000 for each of the next four years, and 12,000,000 for any subsequent years).

4. U.S.S.R. to transfer to Poland railroad rolling stock obtained as war booty.

5. Scientific and technical collaboration to be undertaken in the field of industrial production.

6. Part of the German Fleet now in Soviet hands to be transferred to Poland by May 15, 1947.

7. Gauge of the Przemysl-Cracow-Katowice railroad to be changed to standard European size to permit a line directly through Czechoslovakia.

8. Speeding up of transfer to Poland of Polish citizens, including "former German citizens," now in Soviet territory as a result of military action.

Background: Announcement of the agreement also referred to a fundamental harmony of agreement between the two governments on the German question, implying thereby U.S.S.R. support at the Moscow conference for permanence of Poland's present western frontiers.

52:47 U.S. Note to U.S.S.R. on Hungary

March 6, Washington

1. In keeping with terms of Yalta Agreement, U.S. Government is impelled to make known its feeling of concern in regard to the political crisis in Hungary.

2. The right of Hungarians to live under a government of their own choosing is being threatened by foreign interference in support of a minority which through its aggressive methods would coerce the popularly elected majority.

3. Police and administrative authorities have lent themselves to these practices.

4. Soviet High Command in Hungary has now, by direct intervention, brought the situation to a crisis by arresting Bela Kovacs, until recently secretary general of the Smallholders party, on the ground that he participated in "organizing espionage directed against the Soviet Union." Arrest was made despite his parliamentary immunity and without consultation with the other members of the Allied Control Commission.

5. U.S. believes charges against Kovacs are unwarranted.

6. U.S. requests U.S.S.R., Britain and Hungarian authorities join with it in examining the facts, and that Soviet authorities take no further steps without consulting the U.S. and U.K. representatives on the ACC.

Note: The U.S. note was communicated also to Britain and Hungary. The following day Britain sent notes to U.S.S.R., Hungary and the A.C.C. proposing an inquiry into the arrest. Meanwhile, with Moscow remaining silent, Soviet representative on the A.C.C., in a note to his U.S. counterpart on the A.C.C., rejected the U.S. request on the grounds that the arrest of Kovacs was within the powers of the Soviet occupation authorities under terms of the Hungarian armistice. A further U.S. note was also rejected by the Soviet representative on the A.C.C.

53:47 Truman Address on Foreign Economic Policy*

March 6, Waco, Tex.

1. Closely bound up with the two objectives of peace and freedom is the third: world trade, which is inseparable from the other two.

2. In order to avoid economic warfare our Government has proposed and others have agreed to set up within the framework of the UN an International Trade Organization to be concerned with problems and policies concerning world trade.

3. A world trade charter is being drawn up. This is one of the most heartening developments since the end of the war.

4. As a part of the program, we have asked for reduced trade barriers.

5. Negotiations are to be undertaken at the meeting in Geneva next month. They must not fail.

6. The Charter of the ITO would limit the freedom of governments to impose detailed administrative regulations on their foreign trade.

7. Concessions must be made by all the nations of the world. Trade must be expanded.

8. The policy of reducing barriers to trade is a settled policy of this Government.

54:47 Bolivian-Argentine Trade Pact

March 8, La Paz

1. Bolivia receives Argentine credit of approx. $60,250,000.

2. Argentina will supply Bolivia with sufficient food for normal needs.

*Made on the occasion of receiving an honorary degree from Baylor University.

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3. Argentina will receive 8,000 tons of Bolivian tin and 2,000 of rubber. She will also get Bolivian lead, antimony and wolfram.

55:47 Report of American Labor Delegation on Labor Conditions in Argentina

March 8, 1947

1. Despite little formal action by Argentine Government to suppress civil liberties, there is atmosphere of fear and mutual suspicion which hinders exercise of liberties, particularly by workers' organizations unsympathetic to Government, or those wishing to remain aloof from politics.

2. Economic reforms put through by Government, aided by favorable economic conditions, have been used for political purposes.

3. Labor situation is totally dominated by the Perón Government.

4. The General Confederation of Labor has been converted from trade union movement into political arm of Government. It is not permitted to elect its own officers or administer its own internal affairs.

5. There has been a wholesale usurpation by the Government of ordinary trade union functions.

56:47 French-Norwegian Agreement on Norsk Hydro Heavy Water Co.

March 9, Oslo

1. During the war 75,000 shares in the Norsk Hydro plant, which produces heavy-water used in production of atomic energy, were taken over from the French by German occupiers. New agreement, subject to ratification by French and Norwegian governments, provides for confiscation of these by Norway. French shareholders have been partly compensated from German assets in Norway. In addition, Norway will pay French authorities 1,800,000 Norwegian Kroner cash, whereupon the French Government will relinquish any claim on the company.

2. Norway retains 52.2% of the shares (44.4% government-owned and 7.8% privately owned). French stockholders own 36.2%; the rest is held in other countries.

57:47 Polish-Czechoslovak Mutual Defense Treaty

March 10, Warsaw

1. Under 20-year pact, Poland and Czechoslovakia undertake to "apply by mutual consent all means at their disposal to render impossible any new attempt of aggression on the part of Germany or any other country which would unite with Germany for this purpose, directly or indirectly."

2. The two countries exchange pledges of "military and all other assistance" in the event that either is drawn into "military action" against Germany or an ally of Germany.

3. Both will "observe their obligations" under the UN Charter.

4. A protocol to the treaty deals with the Polish-Czechoslovak frontier problem (to be solved within two years), minority rights and cultural reconstruction.

Background: This treaty completed the Soviet-sponsored system of common defense of Eastern Europe against Germany, in which a high degree of standardization of weapons has been achieved between Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

58:47 Truman Asks Congress to Aid Greece and Turkey

March 12, Washington (address to joint session)—

1. U.S. Government has received appeal for financial and economic assistance from Greek Government. U.S. Economic Mission in Greece and American Ambassador corroborate urgency of appeal.

2. Germans destroyed virtually all Greek railways, roads, port facilities, communications and merchant marine; 85% of children are tubercular; livestock has almost disappeared; inflation has wiped out savings.

3. As a result, a militant minority was able to create political chaos which has made economic recovery impossible.

4. "The very existence of the Greek State is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government . . . "

5. "Greece must have assistance if she is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy. The United States must supply this assistance.

Britain Unable to Help

6. Britain can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. U.S. has considered how UN might assist in this crisis but the situation is an urgent one; UN is not in position to extend help of kind required.

7. Government of Greece is not perfect. Nevertheless it represents 85 per cent of Greek Parliament chosen last year in election which foreign observers, including 692 Americans, considered fair.

8. Turkey, too, deserves our attention. Since the war Turkey has sought financial and economic assistance to maintain national integrity.

9. "One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion." To insure this the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the UN. We must help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose on them totalitarian regimes. Totalitarianism undermines international peace, and therefore the security of U.S.

10. U.S. has protested the forcing of totalitarian regimes on Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria in violation of the Yalta Agreement.

A Choice Before the World

11. At the present time the entire world is faced with the alternative of free choice or of having a way of life forced on it.

12. "The status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes . . . in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion or by such subterfuges as political infiltration."

13. In helping free and independent nations maintain their freedom, the U.S. is giving effect to the principles of the UN.

14. The fate of the entire Middle East hinges upon that of Greece and Turkey.

15. "I, therefore, ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and Turkey in the amount of $400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948 . . . In military personnel to Greece and Turkey . . . to assist in the tasks of reconstruction," and for supervision of this financial assistance. "I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel."

58:47A Austin's Speech to Security Council on U. S. Aid to Greece and Turkey

March 28, Lake Success

1. Reviewing current instabilities of Greek situation, justifies the U. S. President's action as an answer to the Greek Government's appeal in accord with recommendations from a UN agency (FAO).

2. Finds direct relationship between proposed U. S. action and the creation of the Balkan Investigation Commission, since neither would be as effective without the other. Recommends a continuing Balkan Commission under auspices of Security Council.

3. Denies that U. S. action is unilateral; reaffirms the U. S. desire to collaborate with all nations on a basis of peace and equality, within the framework of collective security while respecting the "rights of all members to follow whatever system of government they choose . . . so long as the choice is freely made."

4. Stresses the emergency nature of the U. S. program and states that its long-term aspects must be implemented by UN agencies.

59:47 Philippines Grant Americans Equal Rights

March 12, Manila

1. Philippine voters, in national plebiscite, endorsed constitutional amendment to grant Americans equal rights in the development of the nation's natural resources and the operation of its public utilities.

Background: The Philippine Constitution called for the ownership of 60% of corporate businesses by Filipinos. Hence amendment was necessary in order to give Americans parity.

60:47 Colombia Limits Imports

March 13, Bogota

1. Monthly imports limited to the amount of foreign exchange received during the previous month.

2. Licenses for non-luxury items will take 85% of the total and the balance will be assigned to the Government or used to build reserves for possible emergencies.

3. Import licenses for goods not received within six months will be voided.

4. Imports not covered by consular and shipping documents will be considered contraband and penalties will be inflicted.

61:47 U.S.-Philippine Pact

March 14, Manila

1. Provides for U.S. military and naval bases in the Philippine Islands for 99 years.

2. In case of emergency the bases to be made available to UN Security Council.

3. Philippines retain right of jurisdiction over all offenses committed outside bases unless in the performance of specific military duty or in cases involving only Americans.

62:47 Sweden Limits Imports

March 15, Stockholm

1. Government imposed general ban on imports.

2. Ordered rationing of tea, coffee and cocoa.

3. Import licenses to be granted only for most essential goods.

Note: U. S. on March 24 "strongly protested" Sweden's action on the ground that it made exceptions in favor of Russia and other European countries; these, U. S. charged, violated Sweden's reciprocal trade agreement with U. S. Sweden replied there would be no discrimination against imports from U. S.

63:47 U. S.-Mexican Sanitary Agreement on Hoof and Mouth Disease

March 17, Washington

1. Sets up joint campaign against outbreak of cattle disease in Mexico.

2. $9,000,000 appropriation requested from Budget Bureau by U. S. Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson to carry on the campaign. An equal amount to be appropriated by Mexico.

3. 150,000 infected cattle to be slaughtered immediately. Negotiations are being carried on with War Department for surplus bulldozers, trucks and jeeps to be used in burying slaughtered livestock.

64:47 Italian Note to Big Four Foreign Ministers in Moscow

March 17, Rome

1. Italy wishes to express her viewpoint on the German problem.

2. Does not wish "formal invitation," but wants to participate in the preparatory work which is being carried on by specialized agencies.

65:47 Argentine Chamber Passes Bill Making Catholic Study Obligatory

March 18, Buenos Aires (passed by Chamber of Deputies)

The bill provides:

1) Obligatory teaching of Roman Catholic faith in all public, private and technical schools.

2) Creation of classes in ethics under lay teachers for pupils whose parents object.

3) A general bureau of religious instruction and government determination of texts and teaching programs.

4) Instruction by priests or "other persons approved by Government and ecclesiastical authorities."

Background: Perón supporters pointed out: (a) 90 per cent of the country is Catholic; (b) the Constitution in Article II says —"The Federal government (of Argentina) supports the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church." Perón opponents declared: (a) a law of 1883 (still valid) provides that religious teaching will be given by ministers outside of school hours; (b) the Constitution, Article XIV, "guarantees to all persons the right to profess their religious faith freely;" (c) parents are expressing concern over possible ostracism of students who take "lay ethics." Government sponsored, the bill's speedy passage in the Senate is expected.

66:47 U. S. Declines to Grant Further Relief to Yugoslavia

March 20, Washington

1. Replying to the Yugoslav government inquiries on the amount of relief Yugoslavia may expect from the projected new $350,000,000 appropriation by Congress, U. S. State Department note says:

a) After careful consideration of needs, monies appropriated would not be utilized for Yugoslavia.

b) Yugoslavia has received $375,000,000 in UNRRA contributions, approximately three-quarters of which came from U. S.

c) Bread rationing in Yugoslavia has been higher than in some other European countries; Yugoslavia has been able to export grain to Rumania and Albania and has been negotiating for further food exports.

67:47 Soviet Citizens Forbidden To Marry Foreigners

March 21, Moscow

1. Decree of Supreme Soviet dated February 15 forbids U. S. S. R. citizens to marry foreigners.

2. Supreme Soviets of the Union republics are instructed to make their legislation conform with decree.

68:47 Italo-French Labor Agreement

March 21, Rome

1. 200,000 Italian workers will emigrate to France during the next year, at the rate of 17,000 a month.

2. For every working day put in by each Italian miner in France, 330 pounds of coal will be made available to Italy.

3. France will transfer emigrants' remittances to Italy in dollars or pounds.

4. Italian workers will enjoy most-favored treatment in France. Married miners will receive 2,000 French francs on arrival at pits; other workers 1,000 francs on entering France.

5. All workers will be permitted to transfer their family bonuses to Italy.

6. Unmarried workers, or those whose families remain in Italy will be allowed to transfer 40% of their salaries to Italy. Those whose families live in France will be permitted to transfer only 20%.

7. Terms are retroactive to March 1, 1946.

69:47 Security Council Resolution on Corfu dispute

March 25, Lake Success.

1. Considers unnotified mine-laying in peacetime unjustified and an offense against humanity;

2. Finds that an unnotified minefield was laid in Corfu Strait in immediate vicinity of the Albanian Coast . . . and that it could not have been laid without the knowledge of the Albanian authorities:

3. Recommends that U. K. and Albanian Governments settle their dispute on the basis of the Council's findings in par. 2 above, and in event of failure either party reapply to the Council for further consideration.

Note: U.S.S.R. vetoed the resolution. The vote in favor was 7 to 2, Britain (as party to dispute) not participating, Syria abstaining and Poland joining U.S.S.R. The question remains on the Council's agenda.

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BALANCE SHEET OF DISASTER

(*Continued from Page* 15)

port of revolutionary forces in the respective countries, would take over the whole of Europe.

It is again with trepidation that one thinks of the tragic consequences of such a situation, for it would force both sides—Russia and the United States—to accept unnatural and distasteful alliances.

The Eleventh *Hour*

IT IS the *eleventh* hour. A show of force has begun, and while this writer has no doubt that the last thing the governments of the United States and the U.S.S.R. want is war, we must not forget the lessons of history. Even in modern times most governments and their military staffs are never really ready for war. Except for the Nazis and Fascists, governments have never boldly accepted the fact that war is likely to come. 1914 is a typical example of this unrealistic attitude. In 1939, the Allies were not ready. And yet war came, as war will always come when there are vital unsettled issues and great standing armies, navies and air forces. This is particularly true in this atomic age when fears are generated by the existence of this terrible weapon and there is lacking a positive peace policy backed by a *strong* international organization.

At the present moment, the United Nations Organization is facing a crisis through lack of confidence. There is fear and anxiety such as never before. Low morale in the Security Council, the already weakened confidence in the Atomic Energy Commission, and the atmosphere in the Economic and Social Council, where long-range plans for rebuilding the world on new and better foundations seem almost unreal in the growing atmosphere of international tensions, are causing even among the best elements anxiety as to the future of the United Nations.

It *is* the eleventh hour but it is not too late. The peoples of the United Nations are sound. They are daily expressing their desire for peace and cooperation. They are tired of war, its misery and hardships. They are even disillusioned about victory. *Today the greatest freedom to which human beings aspire is freedom from fear.*

The way out is a return to the principles and policies which made the Allied victory possible; to the programs on which the Allies have agreed; to the fulfillment of the principles of the United Nations Charter which the legislative bodies of all the United Nations have ratified.

The Only Solution—UN

TODAY there is no doubt that the major issue, all appearances to the contrary, still remains the problem of inspection and control of atomic energy and of its use for the benefit of mankind. People are often blinded by the lesser conflicts such as Trieste or Greece or Turkey, or even oil. None of these issues—and this is to the honor of the Allied governments—is considered sufficient by any of them to offer a threat of a world war. But the absence of an agreement on atomic energy, because of its vast life-destroying potential, may become a cause of war. That is why the only solution remains —the United Nations.

Therefore, it seems that the following steps must be taken in order to call a halt to the present dangerous trend:

1: A solemn declaration and collective guarantee by the United Nations of the independence and territorial integrity of both Greece and Turkey under United Nations supervision.

2: As far as the immediate problems in Greece are concerned, in view of sharp international divisions and the intense internal struggle, an international United Nations authority must be established to guarantee the carrying out of the will of the people, forestall terroristic activities and oppose any show of force, administer relief, and thus put an end to an explosive situation.

3: As for Turkey, the only real problem is that of the Dardanelles. Therefore, this area should be placed under the control of a provisional international United Nations authority with adequate military forces to be established immediately. The Security Council by unanimous resolution should proclaim that whoever violates this international agreement will be an aggressor in the eyes of the world.

4: On political matters which are deeply dividing the world, all United Nations members should solemnly undertake before the General Assembly the obligation of discouraging any kind of complicity in any subversive tendency which threatens the legal constitutional processes in the various United Nations.

5: Regarding atomic energy, the Atomic Energy Commission must be called upon to set a date for the establishment of an atomic authority with full power of control and inspection outside of any veto. Moreover, the agreement should include, parallel with the establishment of an effective inspection, a plan for distribution of atomic energy for constructive purposes so as to benefit, among others, the Soviet economy.

Then the United Nations will be able to come together in a special session of the General Assembly for the regulation and curtailment of armaments and thus pave the way for effective disarmament of the world.

Despite the gravity of the hour, I firmly believe that the governments of the United Nations and their peoples, when they realize the full impact of the present trend and its possible consequences, will become alert once more —as the Western democracies did in 1939 and conscientiously undertake the task of laying the true foundations of international peace. In that peace, Western powers and the Soviets would coexist peacefully under international law and open the way for the establishment of a free federation of the peoples of the earth.

Solution to March Crossword Puzzle

A	R	M	S	■	A	R	I	E	S	■	A	T	O	M
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A	C	R	E	■	S	T	A	G	E	■	A	L	T	O
B	E	D	S	■	T	O	T	E	D	■	S	T	Y	R